

THE HAND OF ANGELOS

AN ICON PAINTER
IN VENETIAN CRETE

ΧΕΙΡ ἈΓΓΕΛΟΥ

Edited by Maria Vassilaki



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The Hand of Angelos

an Icon Painter in Venetian Crete

LUND HUMPHRIES
IN ASSOCIATION WITH
THE BENAKI MUSEUM, ATHENS

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Contents

Preface 6

AIMILIA YEROULANOU
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Sponsor's Preface 7

Acknowledgments 8

Introduction 9

MARIA VASSILAKI

Scientific Committee 12

Lenders to the Exhibition 12

Contributors to the Catalogue 13

PART I: AROUND 1400: HISTORICAL REALITY, ARTISTIC CONDITIONS

1. Before the Fall: Political and Economic Conditions in Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century 16

ANGELIKI LAIOU

2. The History of Crete during the Fifteenth Century on the Basis of Archival Documents 26

CHRYSSA MALTEZOU

3. Candia between Venice, Byzantium and the Levant: The Rise of a Major Emporium to the Mid-Fifteenth Century 38

DAVID JACOBY

4. The Icon in Constantinople around 1400 48

ROBIN CORMACK

5. From Constantinople to Candia: Icon Painting around 1400 58

MARIA VASSILAKI

CATALOGUE TO PART I 66

PART II: THE PAINTING OF ANGELOS

6. The Will of Angelos Akotantos 104

MARIA KAZANAKI-LAPPA

7. The Art of Angelos 114

MARIA VASSILAKI

8. The Legacy of Angelos 124

NANO CHATZIDAKIS

CATALOGUE TO PART II 134

Glossary 232

Bibliography 235

Index 249

Picture Credits 255

Preface

THE IDEA OF organising an exhibition on the fifteenth-century Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos was first discussed with Maria Vassilaki in 2006. This painter is well known to the Benaki Museum, both through works by him, such as St George on horseback killing the dragon, which are in its permanent collections, and through the exhibition 'Icons of the Cretan School: 15th–16th century', which the Museum organised in 1983 and in which the work of the painter Angelos had been worthily represented.

Organizing an exhibition on a fifteenth-century painter such as Angelos Akotantos is an exciting project. A project that takes on impressive dimensions if we consider the large number of icons carrying the signature *XEIP ANTEAOY* (Hand of Angelos), as well as the many more icons that are attributed to him. All these works are gathered together for the first time in the Benaki Museum exhibition, in an endeavour to evaluate the painter's oeuvre as a whole and to enhance the place of Late Byzantine painting in the course of European art.

An exhibition dedicated to Angelos and curated by Professor Maria Vassilaki, who as we all know has devoted a large part of her scholarly life to studying this particular painter, is guaranteed to be a success. But this success is also linked inextricably with the uniqueness of the exhibited works.

I wish to thank all those institutions which responded enthusiastically to our request for the loan of their superb works: the Byzantine and Christian Museum, the Canellopoulos Museum, the Holy Monasteries of St John the Theologian and of the Annunciation on Patmos, the Holy Archbishopric of Crete, the Holy Metropolis of Paros and Naxos, the Holy Metropolis of Syros, and many others to which there is detailed reference in the appropriate place in the catalogue. I express my special thanks to the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew for permitting the precious icon of the Virgin Pafsolype to come to Athens. Warm thanks are due also to

the collectors Marianna Latsi, Costas Krimbas, Costas and Christos Carras, the G. Andreadis family and the C. Zymaris family, who made their important works available to us for the needs of this exhibition.

The exhibition owes a great deal to the A.G. Leventis Foundation, which responded with generosity and sponsored publication of the catalogue, in Greek and in English. I take this opportunity of thanking them most sincerely. Aegean Airlines sponsored the high cost of transporting the works and their couriers. I thank the President of Aegean Airlines, Theodoros Vassilakis, and the Vice-President, Eftichios Vassilakis. The hotel and tourism company Amalia S.A. was hospitality sponsor and I thank the Constantinos Koulouvatos family, whose close ties of friendship with the Benaki Museum go back a long time. The Friends of the Benaki Museum sponsored the bringing of the icon of St John the Baptist from the Hof van Busleyden Museum in the Belgian town of Málines. I thank the Committee of the Association of the Friends for this initiative. The good friends of the Museum, Matti and Nicholas Egon, are among the generous sponsors of this exhibition and we thank them wholeheartedly. Also included among the valuable sponsors of the exhibition are the new friends of the Benaki, John and Helen Murlis. We thank them for their generosity and welcome them into the family of the Benaki Museum. The V. Damvoglou Cultural Association offered a significant sum in memory of Vassilis Damvoglou. I thank Costas and Mary Damvoglou for this gesture in memory of their son. Without the generosity of all the above this exhibition would have been impossible to mount. In difficult times they have magnanimously made possible the organisation of cultural events such as the exhibition 'The Hand of Angelos'. I am confident that their bounty is rewarded by the result.

AIMILIA YEROULANOY

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE BENAKI MUSEUM

Sponsor's Preface

The A.G. Leventis Foundation was established in May 1979, to fulfil the aspirations of the late Anastasios G. Leventis.

Since its inception, the Foundation's main emphasis was on the preservation and projection of the Hellenic Cultural Heritage, through sponsoring programmes of restoration and re-establishment of historic monuments and sites, of publications of historical and archaeological interest as well as through the support of educational and research programmes.

The main criterion for the Foundation's activities is the promotion of the Hellenic culture, wherever it can be located, based on the principle that culture is the most valuable expression of Hellenism. The aims of the Foundation are not limited to this. The protection of the environment is set as a major target, through programmes in Greece, Cyprus, West Africa and wherever significant ecological problems are observed.

The A.G. Leventis Foundation supports the principle of athleticism, and assists medical research. Education is in general a very important field that the A.G. Leventis Foundation supports, primarily through its postgraduate and doctorate-level scholarship programme.

Finally, the Foundation has developed significant humanitarian and social activities, aiming to assist the progress, development and prosperity of sensitive social groups.

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the Ministry of Culture and Tourism;

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Mr Yannis Sotiriou, Mr Panagiotis Spyridonopoulos,
Mr Achilleas Konstantakopoulos, Mrs Eleni Sbokou;

the members of the Scientific Committee, the authors of the
essays and the catalogue entries.

Introduction

I SHALL BEGIN on a personal note: I feel very fortunate to be writing the introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition 'The Hand of Angelos'. And I also feel very fortunate that I chose to begin studying the painter Angelos Akotantos all those years ago; such choices are very often random, or at least they appear to be. Almost thirty years have elapsed since I embarked on my adventure with Angelos and, over this period, I have managed to unlock many of the secrets closely guarded by the painter and his work. The case of Angelos had all the elements of a 'mystery' that might attract a young researcher, as I was then: a host of icons bearing the signature *XEIP ATTEAOY* which, as was believed at the time, dated from the early seventeenth century; and a will written in 1436 by the painter Angelos Akotantos, who seemed to be a different person from Angelos, the painter of the icons, since they were 150 years apart. I suggested that Angelos the icon-painter and Angelos Akotantos the writer of the will were one and the same; the icons with the signature *XEIP ATTEAOY* were consequently dated to the second half of the fifteenth century.

I feel fortunate to have linked my name with all of the above developments; and I feel equally fortunate to have been given the opportunity to organise an exhibition dedicated to the painter Angelos and the art of his time. For this, I wish to express my most sincere thanks to the Board of Trustees of the Benaki Museum, to the President of the Board Aimilia Yeroulanou, to the Assistant Director of the Museum Irene Yeroulanou, and to the Director, Professor Angelos Delivorrias, for allowing me to undertake this fascinating project.

Angelos was the most important painter of a particularly important period: the period when, due to adverse historical circumstances, the centre of artistic production was transferred from the capital of Byzantium, Constantinople, to the capital of Venetian-occupied Crete, Candia. In order to understand the art of the painter Angelos, we must first understand the art of the years around 1400 and, in particular, the art associated with Constantinople. Apparently, the painter Angelos had first-hand knowledge of this art. The aforementioned 1436 will was drafted on the occasion of a journey to Constantinople. We do not know why he would have taken such a journey, but we have no reason to believe that the journey did not take place. Angelos seems to have seen with his own eyes the key monuments of the Byzantine capital, which date from the fourteenth century. For example, he appears to be especially familiar with the decoration in the *katholikon* of the Chora monastery. The soldier-saints in Angelos' icons are reminiscent of the corresponding saints in the wall paintings of the *parekklesion* of the Chora monastery. At the same time, Angelos was in contact with the work of the Constantinopolitan painters who had settled in Candia and were working there already from the fourteenth century. This is indicated by the close iconographic and stylistic affinity between the icons of Angelos and those which are attributed to Constantinopolitan painters in Candia. It is reasonable to assume that one of these painters would have been his teacher, because it is very likely that Angelos was apprenticed to an accomplished Constantinopolitan painter in Candia. It would be

very interesting to know the identity of Angelos' teacher, but we have absolutely no clues on this.

In Angelos' icons, the principles of Constantinopolitan painting coexist with the eclectic adoption of western painting traits. Angelos was apparently influenced by the work of the fourteenth-century Venetian painter Paolo Veneziano, as can be seen in compositions such as *St George on Horseback Slaying the Dragon* (cat.37). In his only purely western composition, *Christ Man of Sorrows with the Virgin and John the Evangelist* (cat.49), Angelos signs in Latin: *ANGELUS PINXIT*.

Twenty-two icons bear the signature *XEIP ATTEAOY*. We can also add to these a large number of icons which have been attributed to the painter. However, at this juncture we should point out that Angelos was the leading artistic personality in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. He introduced iconographic subjects and stylistic expressions, which were adopted by contemporary and later artists. Is it therefore perhaps excessive to attribute to Angelos every icon that is reminiscent of his art? This exhibition offers us the opportunity to stand in front of the signed and the attributed works of the painter, and answer questions such as the above. This is, after all, one of the roles an exhibition should play.

Angelos' will reveals the personality of a painter who held a particularly prominent place in the society of Venetian Candia. It also reveals the painter's social status: a prosperous citizen who lived and worked in Candia. He had substantial real and personal property. We can deduce that he was literate, not only because he drafted the will himself, but also because

the will shows that he possessed a library of considerable size. The case of the painter Angelos allows us to sketch the portrait of the artist in Late Byzantium and to detect the changes in his social and professional status. These changes would gradually lead to the rise of the Renaissance artist-creator.

Angelos seems to use his icons as a vehicle for participating in and commenting on the major theological debates of the day, and in doing so he displays the depth of his ideas and of his training. From the iconographic point of view, he introduces the cult of 'new' saints, such as *St Phanourios* (cats 17–23), 'propagandises' on behalf of the Union of the Eastern and the Western Church through icons of the *Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul* (cats 25–7), and elaborates themes with subtle theological undertones, such as that of *Christ the Vine* (cats 28–30), with may also hint at a pro-Unionist disposition.

The catalogue of the exhibition 'The Hand of Angelos' consists of two parts. In Part I, the emphasis is on the period c.1400. Essays written by Angeliki Laiou, Chryssa Maltezou and David Jacoby present the prevailing historical and economic circumstances in Byzantium during the final period of its existence, as well as in contemporary Venetian-occupied Crete. The texts by Robin Cormack and this author deal with the art in Constantinople and Candia around 1400. This first part also includes a catalogue of 16 works which shed light on the art of this period.

Part II is devoted to Angelos, as well as to the influence of his art on his contemporaries and successors. The essay by Maria Kazanaki-Lappa analyses the will of Angelos Akotantos; my essay discusses his

art; the text by Nano Chatzidakis explores his legacy. These essays are followed by entries on 47 icons. Thirty-three (cats 17–49) of these works either carry the signature of the painter Angelos or are attributed to him. A further eight icons (cats 50–57) are by three important Cretan painters of the second half of the fifteenth century: Andreas Ritzos, Andreas Paviar and Nikolaos Tzafouris, who must have been apprenticed to Angelos' workshop. Another icon is attributed to Nikolaos Ritzos, Andreas' son (cat. 58). The final five icons (cats 59–63) illustrate the influence of Angelos on the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painters Michael Damaskenos, Domenikos Theotokopoulos, Emmanuel Lambardos and Emmanuel Tzanes.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the painter Angelos was the Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco) of the fifteenth century. It is particularly interesting that Theotokopoulos was apparently influenced by Angelos' work. Theotokopoulos' icon of the Dormition of the Virgin, from Ermoupolis in Syros (cat. 63), contains references to icons by Angelos. Even the form of Theotokopoulos' signature, *XEIP ΔΟΜΗΝΙΚΟΥ*, seems to imitate Akotantos' *XEIP ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ*.

Panoraia Benatou was an invaluable collaborator over the years of preparation for the exhibition 'The Hand of Angelos'. In addition to undertaking the secretarial support of the exhibition, she was responsible for issues regarding the catalogue and shared with me the anxieties as well as the endless hours of work that such a project entails. Vassiliki Dimitropoulou joined the exhibition team in the final stages but proved indispensable, thanks to her remarkable organisational skills. Florentia Pikoula worked voluntarily on preparing the exhibition

and made a considerable contribution to processing the bibliography of the catalogue.

I would like to thank Alexandra Doumas for the translations from Greek to English and Maria Diamanti for the translations from English to Greek. They worked on demanding texts, under very tight deadlines. Dimitra Kotoula shouldered many of the responsibilities connected with the catalogue and also compiled the Glossary in Greek and English. I thank her for her willing response to constantly arising needs. Yannis Varalis not only wrote entries for certain icons, but also undertook the editing of some of the catalogue entries and the map legends (figs 1, 7) in Greek. Thanks are due to David Jacoby for preparing the two maps (figs 1, 7). Valentino Pace patiently helped in practical matters concerning the works from Italy. I would like to thank Robin Cormack for kindly and willingly engaging with me in endless discussions about the painter Angelos and the art of his period. My friend Edmée Leventis always had a kind word for me when I needed it. Lund Humphries publishing house undertook the burden of designing the catalogue in both Greek and English. I am grateful to Miranda Harrison, Alex Batten, Nigel Soper and Abigail Grater for our excellent collaboration, and to Eleni Dimitriadou for her priceless contribution to the catalogue in Greek.

Sadly, three close friends and colleagues who contributed much to the catalogue and the exhibition are no longer with us: Angeliki Laiou, Dimitris Konstantios and Ilias Kollias. This catalogue is dedicated to their memory.

MARIA VASSILAKI

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Agia Moni Viannou church of the Virgin, Meronas, district of Amari, Rethymnon

Hodegetria monastery, district of Kainourio

Malles, parish church,

district of Ierapetra

Iraklion, Collection of

St Catherine of the Sinaites

Vrontisi monastery

Naxos, Chora

church of the Transfiguration of Christ

church of Prophet Elijah

Patmos, Chora

Megali Panagia church

Holy Monastery of St John the

Theologian Monastery of the

Annunciation (formerly Kathisma Evangelismou)

Pholegandros, Chora

church of St Phanourios and St Catherine

Syros

Ermoupolis, church of the Dormition of the Virgin

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PART I

AROUND 1400: HISTORICAL REALITY, ARTISTIC CONDITIONS

Before the Fall: Political and Economic Conditions in Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century

ANGELIKI LAIOU

IN THE FIRST HALF of the fifteenth century Byzantium was at the end of a long period of implosion, which had started in the 1340s (fig. 1). One of its main characteristics is the smallness of scale – a smallness of scale that was pervasive throughout the Balkans in the fourteenth century, as states disaggregated and statelets emerged. The restored Palaiologan Empire, after a period of limited but significant territorial expansion under the first two emperors, Michael VIII and Andronikos II, underwent a long period of fragmentation. The large state of Serbian *kral* (emperor) Stefan Dušan also disintegrated into small states after his death. In the political arena of the pre-1204 Byzantine Empire, the Venetians and the Genoese occupied important lands, with Crete and Chios respectively being the largest ones. In this multi-polar world of small states, aggression and warfare were common, as each power tried to retain or increase its resources, territorial, human and other. It was an unstable world, which could put up little resistance to the one centralising authority: the Ottomans who, starting in similarly chaotic conditions after the disintegration of the Seljuk state, consolidated power in Asia Minor and then expanded steadily both there and in the Balkans.¹

Two different kinds of non-political integration held this world together. The Venetians and the Genoese, at the height of their power in the thir-

teenth and until the mid-fourteenth century, had created in the eastern Mediterranean an integrated economic system in which the Balkans and Asia Minor as well as the Black Sea area and Egypt and Syria played their part. The policies of these two maritime and commercial cities tended to subvert the growth of any one large political power that could have hampered their commercial activities. While Egypt was immune from such pressures, the Balkan states were not. As far as Byzantium goes, this fact, present since 1204, acquired an acute aspect in the late fourteenth and the first part of the fifteenth century, as the European economy went through a period of crisis, accentuated by a sharp demographic decline, and competition for limited resources became ferocious.² The second integrating factor was cultural. The Greek language in areas that had been Greek-speaking before 1204, and the Orthodox Church, created a Greek and Byzantine cultural commonwealth. At the end of the fourteenth century, the Constantinopolitan intellectual Ioannes Chortasmenos wrote to Demetrios Mavrianos, asking him to visit the Latin-occupied islands and find out ‘whether people’s mores have become entirely savage, and whether the Hellenic language has been forgotten.’³ As Greek merchants sailed throughout the coastlands and islands of the former Byzantine

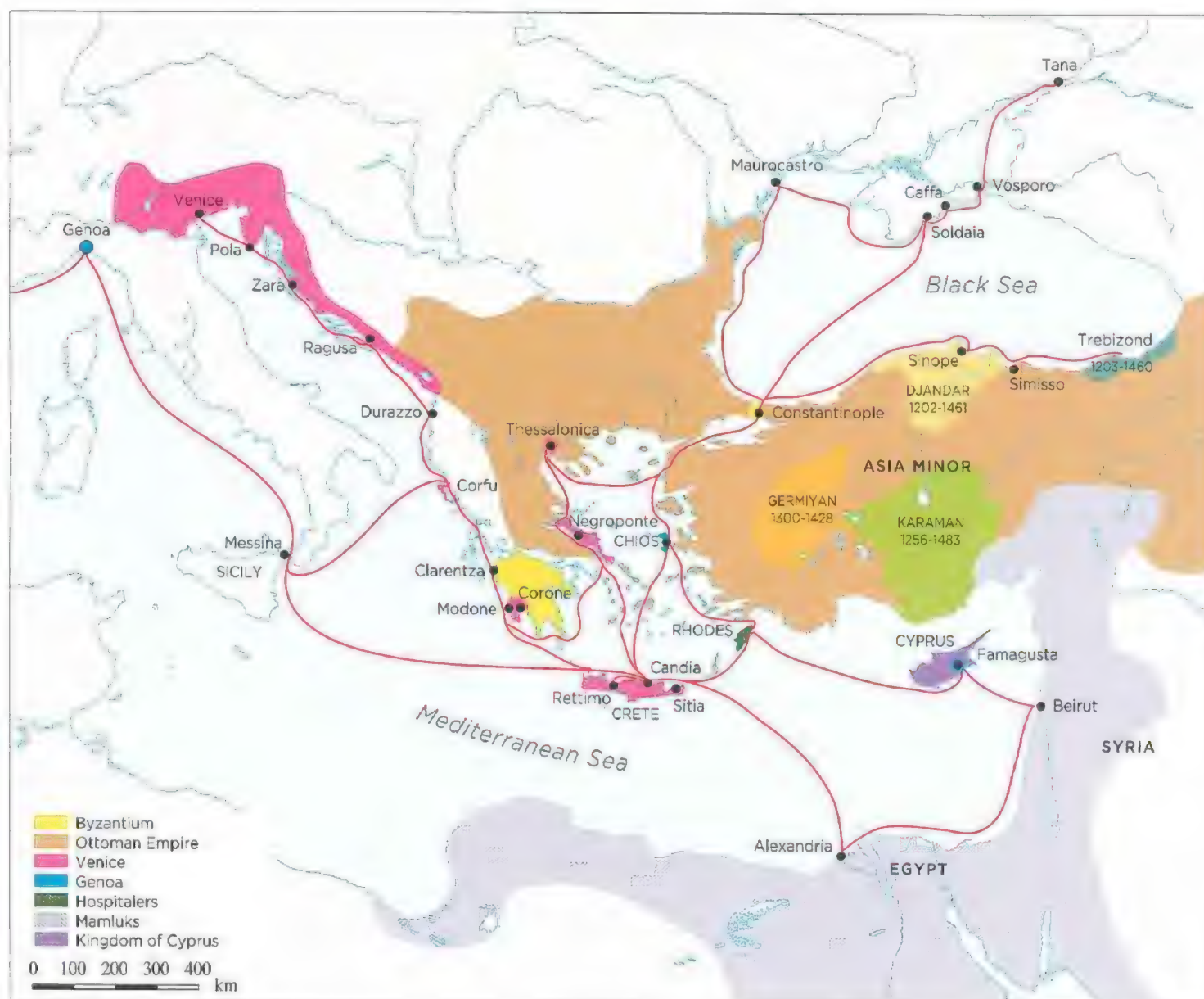


Fig.1
Byzantium, the eastern
Mediterranean and the Black
Sea c.1425.

Empire, they preserved economic ties within this extensive cultural universe.⁴

The last seventy-five years of the Byzantine state were a gloomy period, punctuated with frequent civil wars. Most were dynastic quarrels, with little substance other than a competition for dwindling political power. The Venetians, the Genoese and the Ottomans intervened regularly in these wars, either in order to support the party they considered well disposed to their own interests or, occasionally, to achieve substantive gains. Most striking in this con-

nection is the opposition between John V and his son Andronikos IV. Partly because of it, the Byzantines were unable to send help to the Serbian despot of Serres, John Uglješa, who lost the battle of the Maritsa against the Ottomans in 1371. This was probably the most important and certainly the most catastrophic event before the fall of Constantinople. By 1373, the Byzantine state had become tributary to Sultan Murad I. More disasters resulted from the civil wars. The island of Tenedos, situated in an important strategic position for the defence of Constantinople, was

given to the Venetians by John V in 1376, and as a result the rival Genoese gave support to the rebel Andronikos IV. A terrible war between Genoa and Venice resulted, at the end of which it was agreed, among other things, that the island would be evacuated, and its fortifications would be destroyed (treaty of Turin, 1381). In the meantime, Murad had recovered Gallipoli. Thus were the defenses of the city destroyed by civil wars, no end to which was in sight. Already in 1390 Bayezid I hoped to capture Constantinople by capitalising on the internecine struggles. John VII, nephew of Manuel II, promised the Sultan to surrender the city, should Bayezid make him emperor in Manuel's place, which, indeed, Bayezid proceeded to do.⁵

In the late fourteenth century, the Ottomans made their first concerted effort to take Constantinople by force of arms. The Sultan Bayezid I blockaded the city for almost eight years, from 1394 to 1402, with the express purpose of starving it into submission or facilitating its conquest. The blockade, and the Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria, precipitated a crusade. The crusade of Nicopolis (1396) was something of a travesty and in any case a disaster. As conditions in Constantinople deteriorated, the Emperor Manuel II went west in search of aid from the courts of Europe (1399–1402). In the end, however, salvation came not from the West but from the East: Timurlane, invading Asia Minor, defeated Bayezid at the battle of Ankara in 1402, and took him captive.

The battle of Ankara ushered in a period of respite for Constantinople, until 1421. The Byzantines recovered some territories, including Thessaloniki, while Bayezid's sons fought each other. Roles were reversed for a while, as it was now the Byzantines who played the time-honored game of involving themselves in the civil wars of their enemies. 'And in the Thracian lands,' writes Doukas, 'every kind of peace and an undisturbed calm prevailed, while in the eastern lands there was great upheaval and a continuous change of rulers.'⁶ When Mehmet I came to the throne in 1413,

good relations with the Byzantines continued. With the accession of his son Murad II in 1421, however, the Ottoman civil wars ended and with them the relatively peaceful coexistence of Byzantines and Turks. Both Thessaloniki and Constantinople were besieged in 1422, and the Peloponnese was attacked in 1423. The inhabitants of Thessaloniki gave their city to the Venetians who were able to preserve it until 1430, when it was recaptured by the Ottomans and suffered a terrible fate. Subsequently, Murad II solidified his Balkan possessions with the capture of Novo Brdo with its rich gold and silver mines (1441), and also became engaged in wars against the Hungarians and in fighting off the crusade of Varna (1444). His son, Mehmet II, who first came to the throne in 1444, at the age of thirteen, already planned to attack Constantinople in 1446. His plans were foiled by his own vizier, Halil Pasha Candarli. But when, in 1453, Mehmet launched the great and fatal attack on the city, he presented his campaign as the culmination of a policy that had begun with Bayezid I, continued with Murad II, and was now fated to be crowned with success.⁷

By 1453, there had been two major sieges of Constantinople within the living memory of its inhabitants. Since the late fourteenth century their city was like an island in a hostile sea (fig. 2). In 1391, when Manuel II escaped from Bayezid's army upon learning of the death of John V and returned to Constantinople, the irate sultan had written him a letter with various demands, among them that a Muslim qadi should reside in the city to judge cases involving Turkish merchants. The ambassadors concluded by saying: 'If you do not want to do the things I have ordered, close the gates of the City and rule inside it; for everything outside it is mine.'⁸ Demetrios Cydonis confirms the statement that Constantinople was an island in Ottoman-occupied territory. Inside the city, there were some who promoted the idea that only if it surrendered to the Ottomans could it once again establish links with its hinterland and survive.⁹

Fig.2

Constantinople in the first half of the 15th century. Cristoforo Buondelmonti (c.1385–c.1430), *Liber insularum archipelagi* (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).



Bayezid's eight-year blockade of Constantinople had created very difficult conditions for the population and fostered defeatist attitudes.¹⁰ Although the blockade was primarily by land and Venetian and Byzantine ships could still bring in some food, the city suffered. Food was scarce, grain and wine were sold at famine prices, and the lack of wood forced people to burn beams from the houses of the rich. Many died of hunger. Others – 'the majority of the inhabitants' in the exaggerated phrase of an anonymous eyewitness – went over to the Turks; others still tried to escape by sea and were captured. The opinion that the city should surrender seems to have had significant support. According to an anonymous Short Chronicle, 'some of the magnates (*archontes*) took the keys of the City and went to surrender it to the Sultan.'¹¹ However, other people feared that Constantinople would suffer the fate of the cities of Asia Minor, the destruction of churches and the Islamisation of the population, and so they urged resistance.¹² In 1397, John VII through his intermediary, Francesco Gatiluso, lord of Mytilene, offered the King of France, Charles VI, his rights to the Byzantine throne against

an annual stipend of 25,000 florins for himself and his heirs, and a castle in France ('*unum castrum pro residencia sua in ipso regno*'). This, on condition that Charles or one of his relatives should come with a powerful army against the Ottomans.¹³ After the city had been saved by Timurlane's victory at the battle of Ankara, an anonymous 'Relation of the Miracle' attributed the salvation to the Virgin: 'Thus did God's philanthropy secure the freedom of our city; thus did the most pure Mother of God fight for the weak and poor and those who had no hope of salvation, not only giving unto them a gift of the release from danger but also, oh miracle, subjecting Bayezid's sons to our pious Emperor.' The prevailing emotion in this text as well as in the thanksgiving of Demetrios Chrysoloras for the same event is relief at the unexpected and temporary salvation of the city: 'You have humbled us, but not destroyed us; we have become ill but did not die; ... yesterday there were tears, today there is joy; ... yesterday, the entire city was in a tempest, today we have entered a port ...'¹⁴ What a difference between this expression of relief, without much of a future, and the proud references of Michael VIII to the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, replete with ideas of a new beginning and triumphant at the sight of Constantinople resplendent again in its ancient and splendid clothing, a New Jerusalem.¹⁵

In these circumstances, Constantinople and its inhabitants lived under almost constant threat of being conquered by the Ottomans. The city was greatly reduced in population, counting perhaps 40,000 souls in 1453, on the eve of the conquest. The interval of relative peace, between 1402 and 1421, seems to have given the inhabitants of the city hopes that the Ottomans would fail in their efforts to conquer Constantinople, as so many would-be conquerors had done in the past. But early in the fifteenth century and again after 1423 the population lived in a state of fear.

Descriptions of Constantinople in the fifteenth century attest to its sad decline. Clavijo, a Spanish

ambassador to Timurlane, having described the magnificent churches and other marvels of Constantinople, writes: 'Everywhere throughout the city there are many great palaces, churches and monasteries, but most of them are now in ruins. It is, however, plain that in former times when Constantinople was in its pristine state it was one of the noblest capitals of the world.' Travellers found the city to be in poor condition, with many buildings in ruins; only the great churches served as reminders of its former splendour.¹⁶

The unhappy capital of a no-longer-existent Empire was, like Thessaloniki, a house divided against itself. Social inequality and the harsh economic conditions in which most of the population lived created tensions and political unease. In the difficult circumstances that had extended over generations, insecurity and frequent civil wars had exacerbated social conflict. In the city of Thessaloniki, its recent past replete with memories of a civil war with deep social and economic antagonisms, unrest continued.¹⁷ In Constantinople, social and economic divisions appear to have been sharp.

In the late thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the economy of Constantinople was primarily connected to trade, since much of the hinterland was in the hands of the Ottomans, and the Byzantine possessions, except for the Morea, were coastal or insular. Since the thirteenth century, the Byzantine economy of exchange and even the economy of secondary production functioned within an international market that included Italy and the eastern Mediterranean. It was a market that was dominated by Italian merchants, primarily the Venetians and the Genoese, who operated under privileged conditions, controlled the seas and the communications system, and held a virtual monopoly of long-distance trade.¹⁸ The local population participated in this system to a degree. Byzantine or Greek merchants and sailors played an important role in local and regional trade, sailing in medium-sized ships, making trade agreements among

themselves and with the Italians, and feeding the large-scale Italian commerce with Byzantine products, mostly foodstuffs and raw materials. They also engaged in the retail trade of the major western import, which was woollen cloth. Finally, in Constantinople and Thessaloniki, and presumably in other cities, they functioned as bankers. Byzantine industries declined as the imports of manufactured goods from the West increased.¹⁹

With some modifications, these general statements apply specifically to the late fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. Trading conditions in important areas had changed by then: the Black Sea, dominated in the fourteenth century by the Genoese from their city of Caffa, had lost some of its leading position in the grain trade because of resurgence in the power of the Tatars and the Mongols. Nevertheless, the Black Sea area was still important to Genoa, as was, now, Chios, an outlet for the grain of Asia Minor. Smaller grain markets acquired greater importance than before: the cities of Mesembria and Anchialos, always centres of the Bulgarian grain trade, continued to export grain. There was a heavy Genoese presence in these cities which, it will be recalled, remained in Byzantine possession until 1453. Similar was the case of the Thracian ports on the Sea of Marmara, Panidos, Porou, Selymbria, and others. Thracian wheat was exported to Genoa from here in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it is pertinent to remember that John V had granted these cities as an apanage to Andronikos IV and his son, John VII, the great ally of the Genoese. The imperial family, and John VII specifically, was heavily invested in this trade.

Since the late fourteenth century, when the landed possessions of the Byzantine state began to shrink to the point of disappearance, the aristocracy had turned its attention to trade. People with imperial names, aristocrats of provincial origin like the Notaras family, men who had less brilliant pedigrees but who quickly made connections with the imperial family, such as

the Goudeles, all participated in trade and had close relations with the Genoese and the Venetians.²⁰ George Goudeles made great profits during Bayezid's blockade of Constantinople by importing wheat from Chios and selling it in Constantinople at exorbitant famine prices. Others made money by selling grain to western Europe without regard for the needs of the population of the city. In the fifteenth century, the activities of some Byzantine merchants seem to have expanded geographically. There is mention of a trip 'to Russia', possibly by land. There were trade connections with Wallachia, and the satirist Mazaris provides the information that many Greeks made money fast there.²¹ A few Greek merchants appear in Egypt, in Bruges, in London, and one even found his way to Norway and Iceland, always in some connection with Italian merchants or ships.²²

The registers of the Venetian merchant Giacomo Badoer, who lived and did business in Constantinople between 1436 and 1440, show the close connection of a number of Byzantines, both of aristocratic origins and of more humble ones, with the Venetians.²³ There were Constantinopolitans who had trade connections with the Venetians; indeed, in terms of numbers they formed the largest group present in these account books (27 per cent), if one excludes the merchants from the Venetian colonies. The volume of their transactions, however, was disproportionately small. Among these merchants are to be found individuals of imperial or otherwise notable lineage: a Palaiologos, a Kantakouzenos, a Laskaris, a Vatatzes, a Synadenos, as well as the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras. Among them, too, are people whose families had for generations engaged in trade with the Italians, such as the Argyropouloi, the Vassilikoi, the Sarandanoi, the Frangopouloi. More important, perhaps, are the bankers: three out of the ten significant bankers evident in the accounts of Badoer were Greek, and, unlike the case of the traders, the volume of their transactions, both with Greeks and with Venetians, was very considerable. More modest Greek

bankers also engaged in a variety of transactions. The bankers benefited from the activities of foreign and Byzantine merchants who always needed money; besides, the proliferation of different coinages in the city made the occupation of money-changer profitable. The importance of the bankers is telling: in the subordinate Byzantine economy it was easier and more profitable for the natives to play the money lender or generally to engage in money transactions that facilitated trade and were ancillary to it, than to be heavily involved in trade, controlled by the Italians. Not, of course, that bankers did not also engage in trade, but it seems that comparatively speaking the barrier to entry into the money business was, in Constantinople, lower than that into trade.

The most successful entrepreneur of the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century was Nikolaos Notaras, who had made a vast fortune from trade and from his Italian connections. His son, the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras, invested a good part of that fortune in foreign banks and in the Genoese public debt. It is far from clear how much of the money made in Italy may have been repatriated to Constantinople and spent there, which would have been of some benefit to the urban economy; indeed, there is a strong argument that, since yields on such investments were low, Notaras was looking not for profits but for security.²⁴ Thus these investments were a pure loss to the economic life of Constantinople.

Clearly, there was, in fifteenth-century Constantinople, a group of people who became very rich, mostly through their connections with the Italians. They had quite considerable property in the city, and their wealth was ostentatious. A satire written by John Argyropoulos, himself very much an entrepreneur, mocks a judge, Demetrios Katavlattas, who strutted around the city in his robes of office, profiting along the way from 'gifts' of food, wine and manufactured goods – surely bribes in disguise.²⁵

The great houses of the rich are mentioned by a number of contemporaries.²⁶ The moralist Joseph

Bryennios made the bitter statement that if only ten of the *archontes*, the rich and powerful people, had, over the last thirty years, spent as much money in repairing the walls of the City as they had in building great houses, no part of the walls would be in disrepair.²⁷ An egregious case of disregard for the public interest is that of Manuel Iagaris, who is said to have embezzled a very considerable sum of money (20,000 florins) from the funds given him by Constantine XI in 1453 for the reparation of the walls.²⁸ The Venetian Nicolò Barbaro, who described the siege of Constantinople, wrote at the end of his narrative that Constantine XI, 'who was very poor,' had asked his 'barons' to lend him money. In the desperate straits in which he found himself, he nevertheless did not want to increase taxes on the poorer members of society. The 'barons' responded that they had no money; but, says Barbaro, when the Turks took the city, they found great wealth. He also reports that the Sultan castigated the Byzantines 'of high rank' who had sent him large gifts of money, saying that 'they were great curs not to have lent the money to their master, and to have let their city be captured.'²⁹ As has already been mentioned, there were members of this class who had hastened to offer to surrender Constantinople to Bayezid I.³⁰ It is no wonder, then, that after the fall of Constantinople Mehmet the Conqueror wrote to the aristocrats (the names of Sphrantzes, Manuel Raoul, Sofianos, Demetrios Laskaris, the families of Diplovatatzes, Kavakes, Pagomenoi, Frangopouloi, Sgouromales, Mavropapas, Philanthropenos and Petrobouli are mentioned), telling them that he had learned they wanted to become his men, and promising them not only full immunity for themselves, their followers and their property, but also that they should be 'better off than you were previously'.³¹ As for the poor people, they placed their hopes of salvation in the hands of the Virgin who had protected her city against Chosroes and the Avars, as she had against the Arabs.³²

Thus, as Constantinople inexorably moved toward the end of its life as a Byzantine city, social and economic divisions within it were striking. There were

some very rich individuals. But the bulk of the population was poor and suffered from deprivations that became acute when the city was besieged. Demetrios Chrysoloras noted the contrast very clearly in his thanksgiving address to the Virgin in 1403: some, he wrote, were living in luxury while others died of hunger; some had everything while others had nothing. The only solution for the city's ills, he thought, was an alleviation of economic inequality: 'let us not become as a Libyan land, burned and infertile.'³³

In the course of the first half of the fifteenth century, friction in the city was exacerbated by the disputes regarding the Union of the Greek and Latin Churches. This, indeed, was the most important political issue of the period. Whether realistically or not, most of the emperors of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries thought that Constantinople could be saved, if help would come from the West. Since help was contingent upon church union, they followed a policy of negotiations with the papacy. The negotiations were protracted indeed, and it may be that on occasion they were so on purpose, as a matter of imperial policy. Manuel II, who had placed his hopes in western help and spent years in royal courts trying to achieve that objective, nevertheless gave the following advice to his son, John VIII. The Turks, he said, feared above all that the Byzantines and the Westerners would unite and cause them great harm. So, he continued, negotiations on the Union should be kept open, especially when John wanted to frighten the Turks; but he should not attempt to carry out the Union, because 'our side' would not accept any agreement that did not simply restore ancient usage, something that the Catholics, in turn, would oppose. Since the Emperor judged that agreement was impossible, he feared that a worse schism would eventuate, and the stratagem would then become obvious to the Turks.³⁴

Under the pressure of circumstances, however, church union was proclaimed at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in July 1439. It was, of course, a political move on the part of the Emperor John VIII who had

hoped, as had some of his predecessors, for significant help from the western European states and the Church of Rome. The decision split the population of Constantinople apart. The Union was celebrated in the Great Church of Hagia Sophia on 12 December 1452, but many were those who did not accept it and who subsequently ceased to worship there, considering the building to be 'a refuge of demons and ... have a Hellenic altar'.³⁵ Unionists and anti-Unionists had fairly clear arguments, but sometimes they gave voice to unexpected positions. Thus the Grand Duke, with both Venetian and Genoese citizenship and a fortune invested in Italy, is said to have proclaimed that 'it would be better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in the centre of the City than the Latin miter'.³⁶ This is less strange than it seems, for Genoa maintained generally good relations with the Ottomans, while Notaras himself had connections with Halil Pasha Candarli, a man of moderate attitude toward the Christians and an opponent of the military capture of Constantinople.³⁷ Others, presumably the Unionists, expressed exactly the opposite opinion, while others still expected God to intervene in one way or another.³⁸

It is not possible to argue that the Unionist and anti-Unionist positions clearly and unambiguously reflect the economic or political interests of particular classes or groups of the population.³⁹ Many of the intellectuals were pro-Western and pro-Union, most of the clergy were not. But a pro-Western stance did not exclude negotiations and agreements with the Ottomans, as the policy of Manuel II clearly shows. The primary concern of emperors, aristocrats and the population at large was survival; that of the Church, survival of the faith and of its own power, which it considered to be more at risk from the Westerners than from the Ottomans. The ambiguous position of Loukas Notaras, who had both a pro-Union stance and close relations with the vizier Halil Candarli, is further proof of the flexibility that circumstances seemed to dictate.⁴⁰ Other members of the urban aristocracy may have held similarly ambiguous views:

because of their close relations with the Italians, one would expect that they would support an alliance with Western powers and thus the Union of the Churches, as indeed some did.⁴¹ However, the possibility of acquiring again, as a class, landed possessions may have been what pushed them to also try to make accommodations with the Ottomans. In other words, the position of the aristocrats on the matter of church union was greatly influenced by their understanding of where their interests lay, and these views changed with circumstances. The rest of the population also had transactions with the Italians, some manning their ships, others engaging in small-scale trade in the wake of the larger trading activities of the Italians, but they must have suffered from the arrogance of the Venetians and the Genoese, and from their own poor economic situation. The anti-Unionist, anti-Western party commanded large popular support. Given the sharp economic and social cleavages in the city in the fifteenth century, it would be safe to suppose that some of the anti-Latin feeling was fuelled by resentment against the ostentatiously rich whose connections to the Italians were as visible as their wealth. Besides, memories of the Fourth Crusade were still alive, as was the knowledge that the Orthodox Church had lost its lands and its authority in Latin-occupied territories. Anti-Latin sentiments, certainly promoted by the Church and condemned as retrograde by Doukas, were the result.⁴²

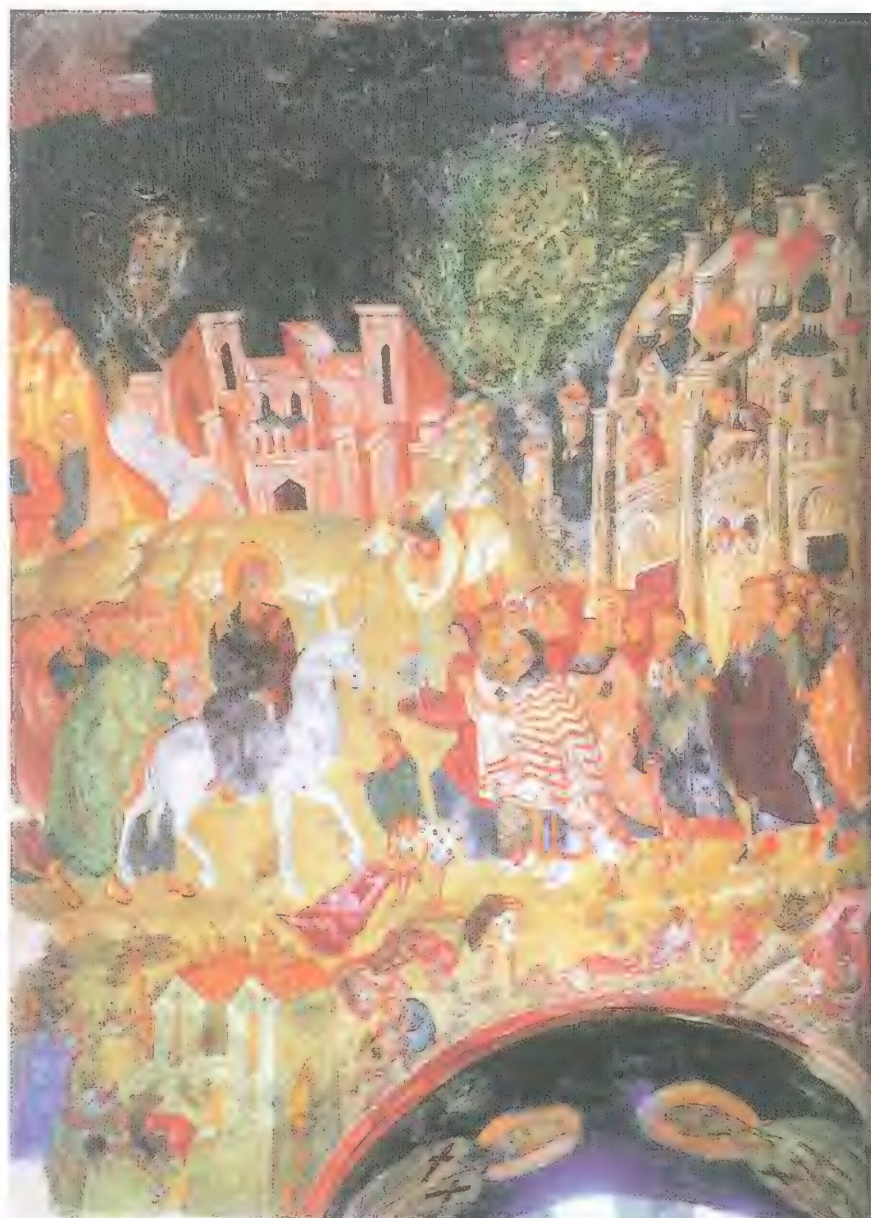
In the year of the fall, the territorial contraction of the Byzantine state had reached its zenith. Constantinople and the Despotate of the Morea stood virtually alone, with only a few cities in the Propontis and on the Black Sea coast, and the islands of Thasos, Lemnos, and Imvros.⁴³ Alone is the operative word. One of the historians of the fall, Sphrantzes, chronicles with bitterness the inactivity of other Christian powers from which help might have been expected:

One might ask, what did the Emperor do at the time between battles, that is, while the Emir

was making preparations, and what did the Christians of other lands do to help? ... In Venice, at the meeting of the Great Council, the Doge Francesco Foscari opposed [sending help], not out of ignorance ... but out of ill will and envy And the church of Rome, what care did it take? ... And from Serbia, whence it was possible for money to have been sent secretly, from many places, and also for men to arrive in other ways, did anyone ever see a penny? Yes, truly they sent much money and people to the Emir who was besieging the city. And the Turks in triumph said, 'Look, the Serbs are also against you.' Did any of the Christians, the Emperor of Trebizond, or the Vlachs, or the Georgians send one penny or one man to help us, either openly or in secret?⁴⁴

The Venetians did send some help; some Genoese, most memorably Giovanni Giustiniani Longo, also went to Constantinople and fought almost to the last. Nevertheless, the feeling of isolation and despondency expressed by Sphrantzes must have been shared by the city population. Some of the Greeks, says Doukas, another of the major historians of the fall, were convinced that Mehmet II would take the city, while others believed he would fail, just as his father and grandfather had done.⁴⁵ Kritovoulos of Imvros puts into the mouth of Mehmet II the statement that, while during the siege of 1422 Constantinople had been full of inhabitants and could hope for Italian help, in 1453 it was empty and there was great opposition to the Italians.⁴⁶ The inhabitants recalled old prophecies of the fall.⁴⁷

During the last siege and the final assault, on the walls of Constantinople and in the city itself, the Byzantines, including the aristocracy, put up a heroic and desperate resistance. After the fall, and after the first few days of appalling destruction, the aristocrats and their families were the first to be ransomed and freed, some by Mehmet II. As for the bulk of the population,



they suffered the awful fate reserved by the Ottomans for cities that had resisted: their houses and possessions were looted and destroyed, while those who were not massacred were enslaved, as the city lay in ruins.

It is well known that the political and territorial decay of the Empire was attended by a renaissance or revival – the terminology is not really important – of some magnitude. The study of Greek letters flourished, and Palaiologan art went through a renewal that resulted in the extraordinary churches of Mystras, among others (fig. 3). The materials used

Fig.3
The Entry into Jerusalem,
1428/9.
Mystras, monastery of the
Pantanassa.

in artistic production were cheaper – there was, for example, no monumental mosaic decoration although mosaic icons were masterfully created. But the quality was exquisite. Byzantine humanists acquired considerable fame in Italy, where some had gone at the time of the Council of Ferrara–Florence. The names of the most important humanists who played a part in the Italian Renaissance are well known. George Gemistos Plethon taught in Florence. Bessarion stayed in Italy after the Council of Ferrara–Florence, and became a cardinal of the Catholic

Church, dedicated to the end to the cause of the crusade for the recovery of the Byzantine Empire. His library formed the core of the Marciana Library in Venice. John Argyropoulos, the author of the satire against Katavlattas, lived in Florence for fifteen years and ended his days in Rome. Many other intellectuals found refuge in Italy before 1453.⁴⁸ In that fatal year, most of the refugees from Constantinople fled to the Latin-occupied islands, Crete, Corfu, Euboea, Chios – the large cultural commonwealth about whose fate Chortasmenos had worried fifty years earlier.⁴⁹

- 1 For the dynamics of small-state policies, see Laiou 2006b, pp 42–53. For the political history of the Palaiologan period, see Nicol 1972, and its second edition 1993.
- 2 Laiou 2006b, p.52; Laiou-Thomadakis 1980–81, pp 177–222.
- 3 Hunger 1969, pp 216, 225–7.
- 4 Laiou 1991, pp 283–96.
- 5 Doukas 1958, pp 83–5.
- 6 Doukas 1958, p.113.
- 7 Kritovoulos 1983, pp 32–3.
- 8 Doukas 1958, p.77.
- 9 Loenertz 1960, vol. II, letter 442, pp 406–8 (1391).
- 10 Necipoğlu 1995, pp 157–67.
- 11 Gautier 1965, pp 106, 108; Schreiner 1975–7, chronicle 22, p.184.
- 12 Doukas 1958, pp 81–3.
- 13 Lampros 1913, pp 248–57.
- 14 Gautier 1965, p.112; Gautier 1961, pp 350–52. Cf. Laiou 1991, pp 283–4.
- 15 Dmitrievskij 1895, p.771.
- 16 Clavijo 1928, pp 88–9; cf. Tafur 1926, pp 138–48.
- 17 See, for example, Balfour 1979, p.47.
- 18 What follows is based on Laiou-Thomadakis 1980–81, Oikonomides 1979, and Matschke 2002b, pp 771–806.
- 19 Laiou 2006a, pp 119–20.
- 20 Laiou-Thomadakis 1980–81, pp 221–2.
- 21 Laiou-Thomadakis 1980–81, pp 201–2.
- 22 Matschke 2002b, pp 797–9.

- 23 Matschke 2002a, pp 484–5; Matschke 2002b, pp 794–5; Laiou-Thomadakis 1980–81, pp 203–5; Oikonomides 1979, pp 66ff.
- 24 Ganchou 2002, pp 161ff.
- 25 Canivet and Oikonomides 1982–3.
- 26 See, among others, Hunger 1969, pp 190–92: Chortasmenos' poem on the most magnificent house of Theodore Kantakouzenos; Hunger 1969, pp 157–9, on the house of kyr George Goudeles, who had turned it into a hospital. Chortasmenos makes a lot out of Goudeles' philanthropic deeds.
- 27 Tomadakes 1993, p.249.
- 28 Necipoğlu 2000, p.256.
- 29 Barbaro 1969, pp 77–8. On the large amount of gold, silver, precious stones, and luxury garments looted after the fall of the city, see Chalkokondyles 1843, pp 398–9.
- 30 See above, note 4.
- 31 Laiou 1979, p.222.
- 32 Doukas 1958, p.317.
- 33 Gautier 1961, p.356.
- 34 Sphrantzes 1966, p.58. Kritovoulos 1983, p.33, also shows both that the Turks did fear intervention from Western Europe and that Union negotiations kept the city in an uproar even in 1453.
- 35 Doukas 1958, p.323.
- 36 Doukas 1958, p.329: 'κρείττοτερόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει φακιδόλιον βασιλεύον Τούρκων ἢ καλύπτραν Λατινικήν'. For the

English translation see Doukas 1975, p.210.

- 37 Zachariadou 1994, pp 136–7, 145–6.
- 38 Doukas 1958, pp 329, 365.
- 39 I think that the recent interpretation of the political orientation of various parts of the population is exaggerated; Kiousopoulou 2007. Much more cautious, and closer to the sources, is the position of Necipoğlu 2000, pp 251–63.
- 40 See Zachariadou, 1994, pp 144–6.
- 41 Oikonomides 1988, pp 329–32; cf. Necipoğlu 2000, who argues that it is not easy to establish that the aristocratic merchants had consistent attitudes on this issue.
- 42 Doukas 1958, chapters 35 and 36, and p.365.
- 43 Kritovoulos 1983, pp 85–6.
- 44 Sphrantzes 1966, pp 98–102.
- 45 Doukas 1958, p.321.
- 46 Kritovoulos 1983, pp 33, 61.
- 47 Barbaro 1969, pp 61–2.
- 48 Runciman 1970; Geanakoplos 1962; Matschke and Tinnefeld 2001; Ganchou 2002.
- 49 Kritovoulos 1983, pp 85–6. Vacalopoulos 1980, pp 272–83; Harris 1995.

The History of Crete during the Fifteenth Century on the Basis of Archival Documents

CHRYSSA MALTEZOU

THE CRETAN PAINTERS' ability to execute works in two styles, *in forma greca* (fig.4) and *in forma latina* (fig.5), is a good indicator of the social landscape that had taken shape in Crete during the period of Venetian rule. The conditions prevailing on the island, from the establishment of Venetian sovereignty until the dissolution of the Venetian Republic, have been studied satisfactorily, especially in recent decades, enhancing our understanding of diverse aspects of social life. However, many facets of the mentality of the time remain obscure, impeding a more thorough assessment of the historical reality. This chapter refers to the history of Crete during the fifteenth century and aims to shed light on the spheres of influence that determined the ideological course of the local population. Signs of the trajectories of ideas on the island are visible more distinctly and perhaps to a greater degree in this period than in others, not only because the momentous date of 1453 set its seal on this period, but also, primarily, because hundreds of years had passed since Crete had been annexed to the possessions of *La Serenissima* (as the Venetian Republic became known), which meant that the foreign occupation had been stabilised.

For Crete, the Venetian conquest meant its subjugation to the political power whose seat was in the innermost gulf of the Adriatic Sea. Nevertheless, the

memory of the central authority from which the island had been taken, shortly before the Fourth Crusade, was kept alive among the inhabitants for centuries. Cretans in that period travelled along two ideological roads and found themselves within two corresponding ambits of influence. The first road led eastwards, to the capital of the free Byzantine realm, while the second led westwards, to Venice.¹ Since the idea of the empire was confused with idea of Orthodox Christianity, Cretans identified with the population of the Byzantine state, and the measures taken by Venice to sever their relations with the Byzantine ecclesiastical hierarchy failed to decrease the influence wielded by the Orthodox primate over the locals. In the Cretans' mind-set, the persistence of Byzantine tradition and the turn of their gaze towards Constantinople constituted an answer to the measures that the Venetians were trying to impose upon them in the field of religious freedom. However, the current of innovation which had convulsed Cretan society with the Venetian conquest lost no time in sweeping along with it wide strata of the populace. In the face of the new reality, the locals had little choice but to deal with the situation pragmatically, to adapt to it as best they could and, in the end, to appropriate the foreigners' mechanisms for their own benefit. The Cretans' behaviour during the fifteenth century was determined by this dual

orientation. On the one hand they remained ideologically bound to the world of the moribund Byzantine Empire, while on the other they responded to the needs of the present and moved with ease in the new social milieu that the Venetians had formed in their land. This stance is discerned more clearly and detected more easily in the city of Candia, not only because the changes in the social structures that the Venetians had caused there ramified into many fields, but also because of the availability of the sources, which allow greater latitude in the assessment of the situation. Furthermore, the local inhabitants of the Cretan capital were in daily communication with the foreigners and thus receiving challenges all the time, in contrast to the peasants who were isolated in the hinterland, where the Venetian presence was limited in relation to the urban centres. As far as the sources, in the majority notarial, are concerned, it should perhaps be noted here that they too are documents of a change that had taken place in men's relations with one another. The fact that the Cretan was compelled to resort to the notary, in order to safeguard his everyday transactions – even the simplest, such as engaging a wet nurse to suckle a child or hiring a builder for construction work – cannot have been due only to his adoption of a practice consistent with the Venetians' bureaucratic spirit, but is symptomatic also of the strong sense of distrust that had beset Cretan society. This lack of trust between the inhabitants is denoted mainly in the urban centres, where the notarial documents were drawn up, and to a lesser extent in the rural areas, where the peasants still relied on oral agreements. The fact that peasants tended to know one another, and the existence in the villages of strong kinship networks that bound the families together, contributed decisively to the creation and development of relations of reciprocity and mutual trust.

There were no revolutionary movements of Cretans against the Venetian authorities in the first half of the fifteenth century. The last major uprising was the well-known St Titus Revolt, in the years 1363–6.

Whereas most of the previous insurrections aimed at incorporating the revolutionaries in the system of the established order, the revolt linked with the name of the island's patron saint aimed at overthrowing Venetian authority and founding an autonomous republic.² Consequently, the immediate reaction of the metropolis when confronted with the danger of losing the possession that was dubbed 'her soul' or the 'other Venice in the East' was justifiable. The hapless outcome of the movement made it clear to the Cretans that change of sovereignty was impossible. It was not accidental that in the ensuing years no revolutionary upheavals took place. The relative calm that held sway on the island brought the two ethnic groups in close proximity. Later, the Union of the Churches and the Venetian authorities' efforts to impose the decisions of the Council of Ferrara–Florence were to cause great tumult in the population. The Cretans stubbornly refused to conform to the Florentine term and dynamically expressed their opposition to papal Unionist policy. The reasons were not solely religious. Conscious of the fact that language, doctrine and common origin were the cohesive bonds that united them with the populations of the Byzantine state, the locals insisted in keeping the same religious climate as that prevailing in the wider social space of the empire. In this perspective, otherness functioned as a means of preventing assimilation with the Catholics.³ Nevertheless, in the space of everyday praxis, where relations with the Venetians were not connected with religious compulsions, things were different. The way for peaceful coexistence and, in the end, the intermingling of the two worlds was open.

From the moment of its penetration into the Venetian sphere of influence, Crete was a nodal point in the mercantile network that *La Serenissima* had cast over the then-known sea lanes. A hub of the transit trade of diverse commodities, which were gathered in its warehouses, Candia was a major port of call on the maritime route to the East. In its harbour ships from the East unloaded spices, herbs and salt fish, and



Fig.4

An icon of Virgin and Christ Child, *in forma greca*, 15th century. Athens, Benaki Museum (inv.no.38242).

from the West glassware, nails and textiles.⁴ The variety in the provenance, the quality and the polychromy of the textiles, which had quickly become an object of commercial transaction between the island's inhabitants, is imprinted vividly in the sources: *panni*

scarlati de Florentia, panni larghi de Francia, panni ad planam, scarlati stameti, azurri, celesti, blavi celesti, morelli ad planam, morelli vergati, verini clari, mescli verini, blanchette, sirici violati, xamiti, polymiti, rasse, etc.⁵ At the same time, Cretan products, the famed



Fig.5

An icon of the Madre della Consolazione, *in forma Latina*, 15th century. Athens, Benaki Museum (inv.no.3049).



Fig.6
Map of Crete during the
Venetian occupation.
Giorgio Sideris Kalapodas,
1562. Venice, Museo Correr
(Portolano 9).

wine and cheese, had broken the island's bounds and were exported to western countries, where they were in great demand.⁶ Commensurate with the mobility of merchandise was that of people. Cretans travelled near – to harbours in the Peloponnese and the Ionian islands – and far – to Constantinople, Alexandria, Venice, Flanders. Voyaging either as seamen on the ships of the Venetian caravans (*mude*) sailing back and forth between West and East, or as captains and shipowners, or as merchants and tradesmen, they had long since ceased to live sequestered on their island. They came into contact with new experiences and were exposed to new ideas, so broadening the horizons of their world.

By following in the wake of *La Serenissima*, which over the years had developed into one of the most important trading centres in the Mediterranean, Crete had become a place of interaction and transaction for a population of different ethnic and social origins, but with common economic interests. The cosmopolitan atmosphere in the Cretan harbour towns is projected vibrantly in notarial documents of the fifteenth century. Seafarers found work easily in the harbour of Candia, embarking on the ships bound for Flanders (*ad viaggium galearum Flandres*), Calabria, Rhodes, Alexandria (*ad viaggium galearum Alexandriae*). Venetian and Greek merchants engaged

in diverse commercial transactions, while various merchants and mercenaries of other nationalities – Catalans from Barcelona and Valencia, Spaniards and Germans – circulated in the port, their presence contributing to the island's multicultural ambience.⁷ To cite just a few examples, in 1409 in Candia, Andronikos Rodakinos from Constantinople sold two shares in his ship to Strategos Mamounas from Monemvasia.⁸ In 1418, Emmanouil Melis (*Meli*), inhabitant of the burg of Candia and owner of a *griparia* (a ship for the transportation of light cargoes), contracted an agreement with captain Nikolaos Karavellos, also inhabitant of the burg of Candia, by which the latter undertook to travel to Modon (Methoni), Patras and Corfu, and from there wherever he wished, '*pro meliori avantageo meo et dicte griparie*' ('for my own [the shipowner's] profit and the above-mentioned *griparie*'). One half of the profits of the freight rates were to be shared by the ship's crew, and the other half were to come to the shipowner. On the same day, Costas Karavellos, Jacobellus Jurdini, Manolios Romanitis and Giorgos from Rhodes, all inhabitants of Candia, were taken on as crew.⁹ Another name of note among the Cretans circulating in the Mediterranean area is that of Theodoros Vatatzis, who in the years 1431–42 transported with his ship Cretan wines to Constantinople, Coron

(Koroni) and Patras, reaching as far as Palermo in Sicily and Naples in Italy.¹⁰

If the presence of Cretan merchants in the harbours of Venice and of western Europe in general has attracted the attention of researchers, with successful results, the corresponding activity of Cretans in the East and particularly in Egypt is, on the contrary, little known.¹¹ For the fifteenth century, which concerns us here, there is a series of archival documents concerning the activities of Cretans in Egypt during its early decades. Worthy of comment is the case of Michaletos Papadopoulos, who is attested as settled in Damietta in 1419.¹² What exactly Michaletos was involved with in the village by the Nile is not specified in the sources. Most probably he was sending slaves, perfumes and spices to Crete or to other Mediterranean markets. However, independently of his commercial enterprises, Michaletos served the needs of Venetian espionage. He gathered from seamen coming to the harbour of Damietta whatever intelligence he deemed of interest to Venice and then notified this in writing to the Venetian Consul in Alexandria. In the letters Papadopoulos sent from Damietta to the consul Biagio Dolfin in Alexandria, written in the summer and autumn of 1419, he informed the Venetian official that 'the emperor's son' was at Hexamilion '*in la tera maistra de la Morea*' ('in the land of Moreas' – that is, the Peloponnese).¹³ Papadopoulos had learnt the news that Despot Theodoros II Palaiologos, son of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, was at Hexamilion from his fellow Cretan Giannis Gyalinas, who in his ship sailed to the harbours of Famagusta, Tripoli and Egypt. According to Papadopoulos, at that time too a *compagnia* (company) from Koroni had anchored in Damietta, carrying as cargo ten barrels of wine, and was to continue its voyage after to Rhodes first and then Candia.

Crete's channel of communication with the metropolis Venice, open already from the time of the Byzantine province's incorporation into *La Serenissima's Stato da Mar* (sea state), was expanded

significantly in the ensuing centuries. Ships not only of Venetians living in the metropolis or in Venetian possessions in Greece, but also of Cretan shipowners, such as the aforementioned Gyalinas, reached the islets in the lagoon.¹⁴ Together with the ships, which linked the distances, circulated also the so-called '*gente del mare*', as the world of seafarers and merchants of different ethnicities has been aptly called. The abundant notarial sources of the period bear witness to the communicative relations and solidarity that developed between the '*gente del mare*', who met on land after frequent voyages lasting many months. The following letter of procuration, drafted in Venice in 1438 – in which are mentioned two seamen, one from Constantinople and one from Chania, and two shipowners, one Venetian and one Cretan – refers to this interaction. According to the document, the Constantinopolitan Manolis son of Georgios, a seaman who worked on the ship of the Venetian nobleman Angelo *de cha da Pesaro*, had authorised the Chaniot Michalis *Bellachino* son of Nikolaos, a seaman on the ship of the Cretan Gyalinas, to demand from Georgios Avliti (*de Avliti*), from Candia, inhabitant of the village of Agia Paraskevi, various items, such as carpets, a crate, knives, a chest and a nautical map (*carta a navigando*).¹⁵

No small number of Cretans had settled in Venice, long before the Greeks, refugees there from their hearths now in Turkish hands, succeeded in forming a Confraternity, as was the practice followed by ethnic minorities, with the approval of the Dominante.¹⁶ From the first decade of the fifteenth century, the Cretan Philomatis family had settled in the city of St Mark. Demetrios is mentioned in a donation document of 1428, with the designation *de Chandida, civis et habitator Veneciae in contrada Sancti Cassiani*¹⁷ – that is, he was a Venetian citizen inhabitant of Venice for many years.¹⁸ With this act Philomatis had given one of his female slaves, named Maria and only three years old, to Philippa, widow of master-Frangiskos, a carpenter from Methoni. The mention of the slave girl

hints that the Cretan was most probably involved in the slave trade. It is certain that he had ships of his own and that he was trading malvasia (malmsey) wine, which he transported to the ports of Constantinople and Alexandria. Also active in the profitable family enterprise Philomatis had established were Markos and Antonios, who are attested in the middle years of the century, the first in Crete and the second in Constantinople. Through the dispersal of its members in the major emporia of the Mediterranean, where they had settled in order to coordinate their business dealings on the spot, the Philomatis family is one of the many examples of Cretan merchants who had understood and effectively applied the trading strategies of the metropolis. However, although Dimitrios Philomatis had been living for years in Venice as a citizen of *La Serenissima*, he refused to be assimilated with the inhabitants of the lagoon and continued to be true to his Orthodox faith. Indeed, in difficult times, when the Venetians permitted the Greeks in Venice to worship only in the church of St Blaise, the Cretan, disregarding the strict prohibitions in force, held clandestine liturgies in his home, where he maintained a chapel. In 1430, by order of the Venetian authorities, this illegal house of prayer was demolished.¹⁹

Also attested as resident in Venice are the ship-owners Michalis and Leon Sgouros, who too are referred to in documents as *cives et nati Candide*.²⁰ Michalis Sgouros' ship is mentioned in a document of appointment, of 1442, according to which, Antonios Gyalinas had authorised Francesco Bevarado to sail with the said ship from Crete to Venice, in order to represent him in a court case.²¹ The archival evidence on the activity of the Sgouros brothers, Philomatis and Gyalinas is particularly interesting if we remember that Antonios Gyalinas, Antonios Philomatis and one of the Sgouros brothers were all Cretan shipowners who had successfully escaped with their vessels from Constantinople in the fateful May of 1453, and spread the news of the Fall to Crete and the Aegean islands.²²

Apart from involvement with trade, Cretan immi-

grants to Venice were employed in tailoring and textile weaving, as attested, for example, by the mention of a Cretan female silkworker, in 1424,²³ or of a Vassilis son of Georgios, *sartor de Candia*, in 1454.²⁴ Noteworthy in many respects is the case of Nikolaos Philanthropenos, who had worked in Venice – probably for a long period of time – as a mosaicist in the basilica of San Marco.²⁵ Son of the priest Georgios from Candia, surnamed Nikolas 'papas',²⁶ Philanthropenos moved between Crete, Constantinople and Venice. Judging by the commissions for paintings and other related works, which he undertook in the years 1412, 1413 and 1418,²⁷ he must have acquired the reputation of a good painter from early on. Already in December 1400, Maria Mousourou had entrusted her son Georgios to him as an apprentice, in order to learn the art of painting,²⁸ while in the same year he collaborated professionally with the painter Nikolaos Storlato.²⁹ During the time he was resident in Crete, he apparently travelled frequently to Constantinople, where he purchased materials and pigments for practising his art. In 1419, when the Venetians accused Philanthropenos and the priest Michail Kalophrenas, a well-known scribe of codices, of maintaining relations with the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, the painter, refuting the charge, claimed that he had gone to Constantinople to acquire pigments and silver necessary for his work. The Venetians do not seem to have believed him, since they sentenced him to eight months' imprisonment.³⁰ Some fifteen years later, in 1435, Philanthropenos, now in middle age, was evidently in Venice, where he was working in the church of San Marco as *magister artis musaice*.³¹ To those archival testimonies known to date on the Cretan mosaicist who worked in the basilica of San Marco, the following can be added. On 27 July 1436, with a notarial act drawn up in Venice, Nikolaos Philanthropenos, *musaicus ecclesie Sancti Marci*, authorised Nikolas and Georgios Argyris from Candia to collect sums of money from his creditors in Crete. A few days later, once again in Venice,

Nikolas Preccati, a priest from Chania, declared the *magistro musaico ecclesie Sancti Marci* as his general power of attorney.³² These notarial acts show that whilst the artist was resident in Venice he kept in touch with his compatriots, who, for one reason or another, came in droves to the Adriatic State.

The other sea route with which the Cretans who ventured beyond the island borders were familiar was that destined for Constantinople. Even though Crete had ceased to belong to the Byzantine Empire from the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and was now part of the Republic of Venice, until the Fall of Constantinople to the Turks, the Cretans continued to adhere to the metropolitan centre from which they had been detached. Mirror of the empire's ideological influence on the Cretans is, among others, the well-known description of the island by the Florentine cleric Christoforo Buondelmonti, which he had visited in 1415. The legend of the twelve *arcondopoula* (daughters of noblemen) whom, according to the description, the Byzantine emperor sent to Crete, remained alive in the collective memory throughout the period of Venetian domination.³³ In addition to this legend, other traditions linked with Constantinople were in circulation, such as those about captain Kallergis or about the Cretan seamen who fought in the ill-fated city in 1453. The first tradition has it that 'our most holy Emperor, lord of the Oecumene and of Constantinople' had sent Kallergis to Crete to protect the inhabitants from the traps of the Franks. The Cretans believed that Kallergis's descendants were not men but gods and that they did not all live together in the same place, in order to avoid capture by the Franks.³⁴ As for the second tradition, its protagonists were two seamen on Cretan ships, Leon and Alexios, who continued fighting even when Constantinople had been conquered, and so impressed was the Sultan by their bravery that finally he allowed them to leave.³⁵ The lore of traditions and legends passed down through the generations echoes the Cretan's devotion to the Empire of the Bosphorus.

Although Cretans were citizens of Venice, they continued to look upon Constantinople through the imaginary schema of capital-periphery, as in the time when the island was an insignificant province of the Byzantine Empire. In their mind's eye, Constantinople was home to a refined society and its art and culture were of the highest level. Their belief in the superiority of the capital can be detected in various aspects of everyday life. It is sufficient to note that painters such as Nikolaos Philanthropenos and Angelos Akotantos travelled to Constantinople for professional reasons. It has been said already that Philanthropenos maintained that he had gone there in 1418, in order to buy supplies for his art.³⁶ Obviously, the market of Candia was no match for that of Constantinople in the availability of pigments and other materials, at least in terms of abundance, variety and, above all, quality. As for Angelos Akotantos, although the purpose for which the painter was planning to visit the Byzantine capital is not specified in his will drawn up in 1436, the trip there was surely not unrelated to his profession.³⁷ It should be underlined that a voyage to the Bosphorus was an expensive undertaking, which, however, both painters – Philanthropenos and Akotantos – were financially able to meet. Again, judging by the properties enumerated in Akotantos' will, it is easily deduced that the art of painting secured the artist a comfortable lifestyle.³⁸ The affluence that painters enjoyed is borne out by another two exponents of their art, Constantinos Eirenikos and Iohannes Secreto. In 1425, Eirenikos had commissioned the builder Michail Kalovardopoulos, inhabitant of the village of Katsambas, to build him a house with reception room (*portego*) and two chambers,³⁹ while two years later, in 1427, Secreto is named in a notarial document as a moneylender.⁴⁰

If for Cretan painters Constantinople was the place where they could obtain materials for their professional activity and where they could be informed of or even inspired by issues relating to their art, Candia was correspondingly the city in which they plied their

trade, in accordance with the terms and the habits that the Venetians had imposed on the organisation and operation of various professions. Like other professionals – goldsmiths, carpenters, builders, shoemakers – painters too belonged to guilds, which functioned as corporations subject to state control. At the same time, painters used current methods in the workplace, such as the institution of apprenticeship, by which on the one hand they secured auxiliary personnel for their needs and on the other taught their art to third parties, preparing their young pupils for entry into the working world. Ioannis Akotantos, Angelos' brother and also a painter, had engaged with contracts of apprenticeship, dated in the years 1452, 1453 and 1461, assistants to whom he had promised to teach the art of painting (*artem pictorie*). According to the testimony of the sources, Georgios Porphyros, son of Antonios from Koroni,⁴¹ Antonios Papadopoulos, son of the priest Vassilis from Chania,⁴² and Simone, son of Daria widow of Georgios from Modon (Methoni), inhabitant of Candia,⁴³ had been apprenticed to him at various times. Several years earlier, in 1419, one other craftsman, the goldsmith Georgios Kastamonitis, inhabitant of the burg of Candia, had decided to serve in the workshop (*stacio*) of Marco Dario for one year, with the aim of learning from him '*omnia quae spectat ad artem nostram*' ('everything that is relevant to our profession' – that is, as goldsmiths).⁴⁴ This Greco-Italian collaboration indicates that the Cretans took pains to learn new techniques and to follow developments in their art.

Painters were not the only ones who learnt their art as apprentices to masters. It is well known that those wishing to become lettered studied with priests, who taught them not only to read and write but also the art of chanting in the Byzantine tradition (*more grecorum*).⁴⁵ Byzantine music, interwoven as it is with Orthodoxy, was particularly popular among the local population. After all, the psalter was the basic text for learning the rudiments of reading and writing. Thanks to the presence of Constantinopoli-

tan music teachers in Crete during the early decades of the fifteenth century, ecclesiastical music on the island enjoyed a great heyday, reaching a peak after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, with the influence of the refugees from the conquered Byzantine capital. In contrast to the practice of earlier times, young Cretans in the fifteenth century were able to learn to chant in organised schools (*in scolis*) rather than individually with priests. Among the Constantinopolitan music teachers in Crete was Ioannis Laskaris, a most accomplished cantor and 'composer' (*melopoios*) who had settled in Candia around 1411, founding there a school where he taught young men ecclesiastical music. The details of a court case in 1418, relating to the episode caused during the celebration of a memorial service in the Bethlehem church in Candia, with Laskaris as protagonist, are usually used by those studying the history of the Venetian period to depict the religious policy of Venice in Crete.⁴⁶ However, if the proceedings are read from a different perspective, useful observations can be made on the mentality of the inhabitants of the Cretan capital. Laskaris had been invited to chant the memorial service, together with other cantors, among them the chief priest and the chief cantor of Candia. However, when the chief cantor began to chant, the Constantinopolitan teacher started his own psalmody, forcing the inept chief cantor into silence. The chief cantor was furious and Laskaris was subsequently accused of being an instrument of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. As a result, the Venetian authorities eventually banished him from Crete. Two points of the case merit comment here: Laskaris' certainty of his superiority to the local cantors in the psaltic art; and the stance of the congregation, which had supported Laskaris during the trial, expressing confidence and trust in the music teacher from Constantinople, and showing their antipathy towards the chief cantor, who was confidant of the authorities. A few years after sending Laskaris into exile, the Vene-

tian authorities apparently allowed the Constantinopolitan music teacher to return to Crete, because we come across him again in Candia, in 1421, when he undertook to teach in his school, to the young Georgios Marizis, certain ecclesiastical songs: the *Megas Esperinos*, the *Polyeleos*, the *Theotokia*, the *Eothina* and the *Kekragaria*. In the relevant document Laskaris is mentioned as *magister cantus* (teacher of chanting).⁴⁷

In his plea to the Venetian authorities of Crete, Ioannis Laskaris stated that he had come to the island, leaving behind relatives and possessions in Constantinople, because it had the reputation of a justly governed place.⁴⁸ However, the real reason why Laskaris had left his home city was the possibility of making money, which Crete offered. For this same reason, the Constantinopolitan man of letters Ioannis Argyropoulos, doctor of the University of Padua (1444), had come to the island to work as a tutor. In 1423, Argyropoulos, '*instructus in literatura seu scientia greca*' ('who had an education in Greek literature and science'), was engaged for one year to teach his discipline ('*sub doctrina mea*') to Zorzino, son of the notary Constantios Mavrikas.⁴⁹ Precisely which lessons Argyropoulos would teach are not included in the notarial act. However, in the middle years of the century, parchment liturgical books which must have been used for instruction in Latin and Greek circulated on Crete among both Orthodox and Catholic clerics. For example, in the will of the canon of the church of St Titus, Nicolao Sanuto, drawn up on 12 July 1458, there is mention of one *Hymnal*, two vellum volumes of the *Life of Christ*, the books that the Catholic priest kept in his home on a bench ('*in uno banco*'), as well as of lovely vellum maps ('*cartas pulcreas membraneas*').⁵⁰ One *Lectionary*, one *Psalter* and one *Menaion* in vellum are also mentioned in the will of Neophytos Pascali, monk in the Keraplakoti monastery, dated 14 October 1461.⁵¹

Intellectuals are not the only persons from Constantinople attested as settled in Crete in the fifteenth

century. The Constantinopolitan Maria Chrysaphina, who is referred to in an archival document of 13 August 1417, seems to have been in dire financial straits, judging by the fact that she had borrowed money from the Jew Helic Dexeno, depositing as collateral two silver vessels, one bowl and one cup.⁵² The pledging of chattels to Jewish moneylenders was a common practice among the inhabitants of Candia. The available archival documents on the Jewish element in the Cretan capital's populace in the mid-fifteenth century are helpful for understanding the social climate of the age.⁵³ Numerous acts referring to the Jewish presence can be retrieved from the notaries' protocols, such as the will of Elia widow of Matatias Nomikos, dated in the year 1432, in which are mentioned the rabbi David Kapsalis and two synagogues in Candia, known by the names Kokanitika and Siviliatika,⁵⁴ as well as the contract of apprenticeship, from the same year, with which it was agreed that the Jewish girl Esther would be apprenticed to the Jewess Kali Çuchiri, shoemaker, in order to help her at her craft.⁵⁵ From the point of view of material culture, it is worth noting that among the items deposited in Jewish hands as collateral for loans were silver chains, necklaces and gold rings, spoons, silver forks, bowls and precious stones. Last, it should be added that a host of moveable artefacts, jewellery, garments, textiles and other vessels had been brought to Crete by the refugees from Constantinople after the Fall. As to the variety and value of the moveable property the refugees had brought with them on abandoning Constantinople, the will of Demetrios Palaiologos, son of Emmanuel, compiled in 1459, is revealing.⁵⁶ After first stating that he originated from Constantinople and was living in Candia, Palaiologos went on to appoint as executrix of his will Cherana Palaiologina, wife of the soldier Ioannis Troçelo. His property included diverse chattels and clothes: a hair mattress, a cotton-stuffed pillow, a black cape, a mauve robe made in the Constantinopolitan fashion (*factam ad modum constantinopolitanum*), woollen

hats, black hose, walnut boxes, a chest with six crystal bowls (two green and four white), spurs, and so on. At the end of his will, Palaiologos expressed his wish to be buried in the church of Christ Skouloudis in Candia,⁵⁷ and, furthermore, for his memorial services to be celebrated only in the Greek manner (*ad modum solitum grecorum*).

The presence of Constantinopolitan refugees in Crete, after their homeland's conquest by the Ottomans in 1453, had a disturbing effect on the local society, who had received the tidings of the Fall with 'unspeakable sorrow'. Concurrently, the influx of refugees from the erstwhile Byzantine capital, particularly clerics, was a source of concern for Venice, fearing that the Constantinopolitans might foment revolution among the Cretans. The metropolitan authorities' order to the local administration to deport those considered dangerous was one of the measures taken to confront this new situation. Insurrection broke only a few months after the break-up of the Byzantine Empire, in 1453-4, led by Siphis Vlastos and his followers, among them anti-Unionist priests and monks, indicating that the Venetians' fears were by no means unfounded.⁵⁸ The causes of the Vlastos uprising and the conspiratorial movement in the years 1460-62 are attributed to the religious policy the Venetians had adopted in Crete at that time, aimed at imposing the Union of the Churches, if necessary by force. However, Vlastos' revolt, by picturing the zones of resistance that continued to exist on the island, belongs in the framework of a revolutionary ideology. The spirit of resistance which animated the population was not only expressed by conspiracies and uprisings, but also by various acts of disobedience to the mechanisms of legal order. Characteristic of this delinquent behaviour is the fact that in 1454 the Cretans outlawed by the Venetian authorities and living in the mountains

were so numerous and so troublesome (*'sint causa multorum malorum'*) that the Venetians had decided to allow these fugitives (*banniti*) to buy off their punishment, providing military service in exchange. The authorities were ordered to transfer those outlaws who wished to take advantage of this measure, excepting those who were rebels or criminals, to Euboea or to Dyrrhachium. They were to serve in these places for one year, as bowmen or cannoneers.⁵⁹

It is clear from this brief review of the history of Crete during the fifteenth century that, until the Fall of Constantinople to the Turks, the Cretans continued to live in the orbit of the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence, even though their island had been a Venetian possession already for some two and a half centuries. The Cretans' ideological orientation was to be disengaged progressively from the notional guardianship of the Byzantine Empire. In the face of the new demands of the times and of the new status quo resulting from the change in the balance of power in the Mediterranean, the Cretans quickly realised that their chief enemy was the Turk and that the Ottomans posed a threat to the entire region.⁶⁰ Even though the memory of Byzantium was ever vital in their minds, they were fully aware that Venice was ready and able to play a leading role in military operations to stem the tide of Ottoman expansionism. So, under the banner of St Mark, the local population felt protected against external threats, and free of prejudices it was to succeed in merging the innovating messages of the West with the values of the centuries-long Byzantine tradition. As the oppositions between the two ethnic groups were moderated and erased over the years, Cretans and Venetians were to engage in a fertile cultural conversation which, in the subsequent centuries, was to leave its imprint on superb monuments of art and literature.

- 1 Cf. Maltezou 1998b, pp 3–20.
- 2 For the St Titus revolt see Maltezou 1988, pp 125–6.
- 3 For the ecclesiastical situation see Maltezou 1988, pp 129ff.
- 4 Maltezou 1988, pp 139–42.
- 5 The references to the variety of textiles have been located in the contracts of the notary Marco de Ugolinis (1418–53): A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.279.
- 6 Specifically for viticulture and the place of wine in the economy of Venetian-held Crete, see relevant studies (in particular that by C. Tsiknakis in which there is assembled a rich bibliography) in the collective volume Anagnostakis 2008.
- 7 See for example notarial acts of the first decades of the fifteenth century, referring to foreign merchants and soldiers (*caporali pedestri*, *caporali equestri*), among whom are mentioned indicatively Johannes Tassidor, Petro de Patis, Franciscus Balla, Simeon de Vlascha, all from Barcelona (A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b. 29, Francesco Capella, f.8), Johannes Tores from Valencia (A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.29, Gabriele Catacalo, f.25v), Nicolò Tedesco and Petro de Spagna (A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.90, Johannes Dono, f.5v).
- 8 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.25, Giorgio Candachiti, register 2, f.88v.
- 9 Maltezou 1987, p.336.
- 10 Maltezou 1988, p.141.
- 11 For the mercantile activity of the Byzantines, and of the Venetians too, in Egypt from the tenth to the thirteenth century see Jacoby 2000, pp 25–77.
- 12 A.S.V., *Archivio Papadopoli*, b.281, f.4.
- 13 For Emperor Manuel's efforts to reconstitute the Peloponnese and specifically for the Hexamilion fortress, in 1415, and Venice's policy towards Byzantium in that period see Zakythinos 1975 and Barker 1969, pp 311–12.
- 14 For the Gyalinas family see in general: Matschke 1998, pp 77–8.
- 15 A.S.V., *Cancellaria Inferiore*, *Notai*, b.122, Tebaldo de Manfredis, f.161.
- 16 For the founding of the Greek Confraternity of St Nicholas in Venice, in 1498 see Maltezou 1998a, pp 36–8.
- 17 A.S.V., *Cancellaria Inferiore* (supra, n.16), register for the years 1428–42, document dated 3 September 1428.
- 18 Jacoby 2002a, pp 57ff. For the family see also Matschke 1998, pp 77–8.
- 19 Jacoby 2002a, p.58; Maltezou 1998a, p.22 (with collected bibliography).
- 20 See A.S.V., *Cancellaria Inferiore* (supra, n.16), f.166 (1438, 4 March), where there is reference to the Sgouros family. For the family see in general Matschke 1998, pp 77–8.
- 21 Maltezou 1987, p.338.
- 22 Manoussakas 1960b, pp 336–8.
- 23 Jacoby 2002a, p.55.
- 24 A.S.V., *Cancellaria Inferiore* (supra, n.16), register of the years 1436–7 (Tebaldo de Manfredis), document dated 12 September 1454.
- 25 For Nikolaos Philanthropenos see Cattapan 1968, p.37, no.31; Cattapan 1972, p.204, no.30; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, pp 265–72; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2001, pp 292–9.
- 26 Manoussakas 1960–61b, pp 134, 142. Philanthropenos is not mentioned in the sources as a priest, even though he is noted with the nickname 'papas'. Manoussakas 1960–61b, p.142.
- 27 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, p.266.
- 28 Cattapan 1972, p.219.
- 29 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2001, p.298.
- 30 Manoussakas 1960–61b, pp 98, 101; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, p.265.
- 31 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, p.267. Constantoudaki dates the painter's birth c.1375, which means that in the time Philanthropenos was working in Venice he was about 60 years old.
- 32 A.S.V., *Cancellaria Inferiore* (supra, n.16), fols 98v, 99v.
- 33 Maltezou 1995, pp 278–80; Maltezou 1998b, p.8.
- 34 For a Greek translation of the text, Aposkiti 1983, p.77.
- 35 Manoussakas 1960b, p.340.
- 36 See above, p. 32.
- 37 Publication of the will: Manoussakas 1960–61a, pp 146–50. For the painter, Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp 290–98; Vassilaki 2000, p.74; Vassilaki 2009.
- 38 Cf. Vassilaki 2000, p.73.
- 39 Maltezou 1987, p.325 (where it is incorrectly written Calovardo instead of Calovardopulo).
- 40 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.279, (supra, n.5); Secreto is mentioned in the well-known list of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century painters compiled by Cattapan 1972, p.205, no.40.
- 41 Cattapan 1972, p.220, doc.no.15.
- 42 Cattapan 1968, p.44.
- 43 Markouris 2006, p.44.
- 44 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.29 (supra, n.7), Gabriele Catacalo, f.8v.
- 45 For music in Crete see Panagiotakis 1990, pp 9–169, and Markouris 2009, pp 233–49.
- 46 The episode has been studied thoroughly by Manoussakas 1960–61b, pp 87–94. See also Markopoulos 2008, pp 91–8.
- 47 Markouris 2009, pp 246–7.
- 48 Manoussakas 1960–61b, pp 88, 116 (where he posits the hypothesis that Laskaris' settlement in Crete was most probably related to the policy of the Patriarchate, aimed at boosting the population's morale).
- 49 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.25, cit., register 2, f.216v (136v). The notarial act has been published by Ganchou 2008, pp 210–11.
- 50 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.115, Nicolò Gradenigo, f.170.
- 51 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.115, Nicolò Gradenigo, f.188.
- 52 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.26, Gasparino Cauco, f.153.
- 53 Tsiknakis has systematically collected a rich bibliography on the Jews of Crete. Tsiknakis 1998, p.729, n.1.
- 54 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.29 (supra, n.7), fols 2–3. For the synagogues see Georgopoulou 2001, pp 196–7.
- 55 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.29 (supra, n.7), f.4v.
- 56 A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.115 (supra, n.50), f.180. Emmanouel Palaialogos, owner of a ship, was involved in trading relations with Crete in the period before the Fall of Constantinople (A.S.V., *Notai di Candia*, b.279 (supra, n.5), cit., f.43v). Dimitrios is perhaps identified with the Constantinopolitan merchant of that name, who is mentioned in 1437, in the account books of the Venetian Giacomo Badoer: Badoer 1956, pp 265²⁷, 282⁴, 338⁸.
- 57 The church is mentioned in the catalogue of churches in Candia published in Gerola 1918, p.24 (of the reprint).
- 58 For the revolutionary movement of Vlastos see Manoussakas 1960a.
- 59 A.S.V., *Senato Mar*, reg.5, f.31 (32).
- 60 Already in 1471 a Turkish fleet had attacked and pillaged many villages in Siteia. Maltezou 1988, p.135.

3.

Candia between Venice, Byzantium and the Levant: the Rise of a Major Emporium to the Mid-Fifteenth Century

DAVID JACOBY

CHANDAX, called Candia by westerners or Latins (presently Iráklion), was the largest city and the major port of Byzantine Crete by the early thirteenth century. Not surprisingly, therefore, it was the first position captured by Venice in the island and the last one relinquished to the Ottomans, after more than four and a half centuries (1207–1669). Candia's impressive economic, demographic and urban growth from a small Byzantine provincial port to a major Mediterranean emporium, achieved by the first half of the fifteenth century, was decisively promoted by Venice's rule over Crete (figs 7, 8). More specifically, this growth was furthered by the city's multiple functions as administrative, economic and naval centre of Crete, the conjunction of which attracted immigrants and generated urban expansion.

After occupying Candia in 1207, Venice turned the city into the administrative centre from which it was to rule over Crete. In 1211 it sent to the island a small contingent of its citizens, followed by others in 1222, 1233 and 1252 in order to extend and strengthen its hold over the population. Most of these Venetian settlers were each awarded a house in Candia and land in the city's rural hinterland in return for military service. The first wave of military settlers included merchants who, shortly after their arrival, invested or engaged in trade, the export of

local commodities and maritime ventures. In addition to state-sponsored immigration and settlement there was a spontaneous influx of a larger number of Venetians and other Latin foreigners, who mostly settled in Candia. The Venetian government encouraged this movement and the establishment of Latin ecclesiastical institutions in order to consolidate its rule over the Greeks of Byzantine Orthodox faith, who nevertheless remained the vast majority of Crete's and Candia's inhabitants throughout the Venetian period.¹ A small number of Jews constituted the third component of the population.

Candia's economy was boosted by the transition from Byzantine to Venetian rule. This development was partly furthered by changes in the operation of the Cretan economy. Byzantine, Venetian and Genoese merchants had been involved from the eleventh century onwards in the export of the island's agricultural produce, including to distant Constantinople, Alexandria, Venice and Genoa.² The abolition of Byzantine state control over trade in Crete, and the transfer of most landed resources of the island to the Latins in the wake of the Venetian conquest, facilitated direct access to local producers and the introduction of western trading practices by travelling and settled merchants. Demographic growth, especially in Candia, and increasing western

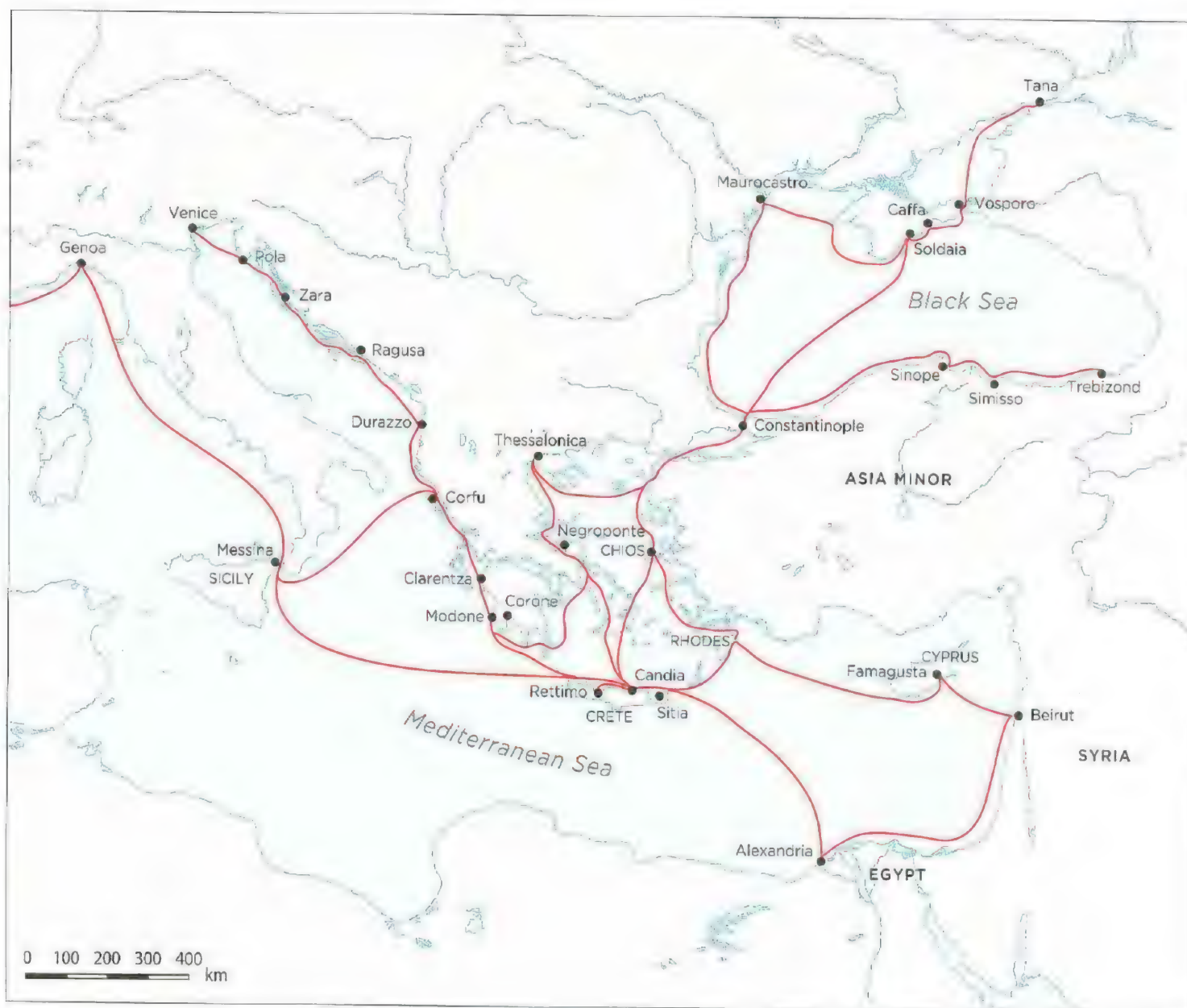


Fig.7

Candia in the network of maritime trade in the early 15th century.

demand provided a powerful stimulus for the widespread use of credit and investments of capital and labour to promote the market-oriented and especially the export-oriented production of grain, cheese and wine. Latin and Greek landholders and Latin, Greek and Jewish merchants, as well as the Greek peasantry of the island, readily responded to market incentives. The conjunction of these factors generated a shift in the orientation of the Cretan economy. Instead of being mainly geared towards Constantinople and the internal Byzantine market,

as before 1204, it was rapidly integrated within the Venetian commercial and maritime networks of the eastern Mediterranean.

Candia's role as the major Cretan market was primarily supported by its fairly large population and the operation of its harbour. It was further enhanced by strong and pervasive state intervention. Fiscal expediency prompted Venice to impose the channelling of all commercialised rural products to urban markets, regardless of their ultimate destination, in order to supervise and tax their sale.³ Grain

paulatim sunt ascensus anerni. inq
 duo reperim? monasteria. eaq. duo de
 serim? ad finē deniq. plurimū torrens
 declinam? . At. At qd. duo inoi sub am
 plissimo aucto. aquas cū hostio ietro
 r. f. p. i. uolentū spem aqua maris
 sibi ipsa nō cessat emanare. aqua tēta
 aquas. multatū calidat? q. uix sub am
 plar. arcub? nre ciuitatis possit depurā.
 p. uo. aduim? militaria p. tēta. in q. i
 mare reuolat. curia caput. totū mar
 gimbo palmites sine fructu crescut.
 cum malis molens in eis adherat?
 sibi. Dat. de nre. p. ille rōr. g. g. g.
 cū castello nre cepit. instans in
 plinū post. amictum? . r. ad. diosirū flu
 men parua uenim? . Vbi. deniq. i. p. tū
 glanachi olim hodie candra nauigi
 um ligare. ualemus. .

Regnum? totū postū. i. p. tū. i. t. r. a. u. s. p. a. l. a.
 et apud i. terram firmare laborū. ter
 ram de nre. r. a. n. d. e. d. e. s. c. e. n. s. . r. q. c. i. t. p. o. t. u. s.
 ad forū p. amplā. p. u. e. n. i. o. m. a. i. i. n. q. u. a. a. d.
 ei. r. e. t. t. e. r. a. m. cū. g. r. a. u. i. b. o. m. i. n. a. t. e. z. p. o. r. t. i. c. i.
 aspexi inquo. c. i. u. i. t. s. o. c. i. e. t. a. s. f. e. c. e. b. a. t. . q. u. o. r.
 i. m. e. d. i. o. g. u. b. e. r. n. a. t. i. o. e. s. t. o. t. i. i. s. u. l. e. s. u. p. e. r. i. m.
 t. r. e. b. a. t. q. u. o. d. a. b. u. r. e. u. e. n. e. t. i. a. u. m. i. s. s. i. e. r. a. t.

17



Fig.8

Candia at the beginning of the 15th century. Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Liber Insularum archipelagi* (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod.Plut.29.42, f.17).

was of major importance in that context. As early as 1211, when the first Venetian military settlers left for Crete, the Venetian authorities subjected the island's grain exports to state control in order to ensure Venice's supply in this commodity. Later in the thirteenth century they imposed on the Latin military settlers and the Greek *archontes* of the island the yearly delivery of wheat quotas, which they undertook to buy at state-regulated prices determined each year according to the anticipated yield. There was also a free grain trade, although exports in that framework were also controlled by the state. The quality, storage (especially in Candia) and shipping of grain to Venice or other destinations were strictly supervised, as illustrated in 1394, 1403, 1414, 1420 and 1429. Candia shared the export of grain with Canea (presently Chania) in western Crete, which served as outlet for the large production of its own hinterland.⁴

Candia also shared with other locations the export of cheese, produced in several regions of Crete. Sitia and Rethymno, located respectively east and west of Candia, served as major outlets for shipments to Cyprus and ports along the coastline extending from southern Asia Minor to Alexandria. In 1367 the Greek shipowner Costa Vlisma loaded at Sitia more than 20 metric tons of cheese on his small vessel sailing to Cyprus. Between 1393 and 1402 a Jewish merchant of Rethymno handled more than 100 metric tons of cheese, clearly for export. However, large quantities of cheese produced in the regions of Sitia and Rethymno, Candia's own hinterland, and the city itself were concentrated in Candia in order to be shipped to Constantinople and Venice. The export of cheese from Candia to Venice and Famagusta is confirmed by a Venetian trade manual compiled in the second half of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.⁵ Six galleys were dispatched from Venice to Candia in 1432 to bring cheese, wine, cotton and grain.⁶ Alexandria was also a major destination of Cretan cheese, as attested by

notarial documents drafted around that time.⁷

Although later than the period covered here, a testimony regarding cheese production for export in Candia deserves to be quoted. Pietro Casola, who on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land visited Candia in 1494, offers a vivid description of that activity:

They make a large quantity of cheeses, but it is a pity they are so salted. I saw large warehouses full of them, and some in which the 'salmoria' [brine], as we say, was a *braccio* [about 68 centimetres] deep, and the large cheeses were floating within. Those in charge of this [operation] told me that the cheeses could not be preserved otherwise, because they are so rich. They do not know how to extract the butter.⁸

The concentration of a large number of cheese warehouses in the city was related to local trade and export, yet also to the supply of passing ships, to which we shall soon return.

Candia's role in the export of Cretan wine was especially important. Cretan wine was widely appreciated abroad and was already reaching distant Flanders by the second decade of the fourteenth century. The Irish monk Symeon Simeonis, who visited Candia in 1323, stated with some exaggeration that it was carried all over the world.⁹ The production of high-quality wines in Crete was furthered by the gradual expansion of vineyards at the expense of grain growing, in response to an increasing foreign demand.¹⁰ Wine, especially of high-grade quality, replaced grain as the major item in Cretan exports and made a substantial contribution to Candia's economy from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. The introduction of malvasia vine-stocks from the Byzantine Peloponnese to Crete must have begun in the 1330s or somewhat earlier. Malvasia, which drew its name from Monemvasia in the Peloponnese, became the most known and demanded Cretan



wine, as stated by numerous pilgrims who passed through Candia on their way to the Holy Land.¹¹

Cretan wine exports reached a peak in the first half of the fifteenth century. In 1455 the Cretans stated that wine exports ensured the welfare of the island's entire population, somewhat of an overstatement.¹² The 11 ships bringing malvasia from Candia to Constantinople in the last months of 1452 may have carried some 891,000 litres of wine of medium or high quality. The volume imported to the Byzantine capital by Venetian citizens and subjects, primarily Cretans, was clearly substantial and provided large profits, both commercial and fiscal, judging by the frequent disputes between Byzantium and Venice regarding the taxation of 'Venetian' wine imports to Constantinople and the Venetian taverns in the city. Some Cretans suffered heavy losses of capital invested in wine following the fall of the Byzantine capital to the Ottomans in 1453. A large volume of Cretan wine was also sent to Alexandria, where it was in high demand in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Candia was the only port of departure (fig.9) for the large consignments of Cretan wine sent to distant Venice, Genoa, England and Flanders.¹³ There were not always enough ships available for transportation

to Venice. In such cases vessels were dispatched from Venice to Candia to pick up the wine. In 1378 they had a carrying capacity varying from 200 to 400 casks of 540 litres each. In 1432 the smallest ships sent from Venice to Candia to bring back malvasia carried 480 casks containing a total of 260,000 litres on the return voyage. Genoese vessels sailing around that time to Genoa, England and Flanders had a much larger carrying capacity, which at times exceeded 540,000 litres. Ships from Genoa and Chios, under Genoese rule from 1346, also anchored in Candia to load wine for Pera, the Genoese suburb of Constantinople.¹⁴

Crete's growing wine production and export required an increasing supply of wooden barrels. Venice prevented on the whole the export of raw materials from the Adriatic for their manufacture in the island. Cretan wine-makers were compelled, therefore, to import the barrels from Venice or to find the materials to manufacture them elsewhere. From the 1420s at the latest, Cretan ships returning from Constantinople to Candia carried large amounts of barrel staves and barrel hoops for the manufacture of casks by the city's coopers.¹⁵

The large exports of cheese and wine from Candia constituted an important source of fiscal revenue,

Fig.9
The harbour of Candia.
Nicolaus Visscher, *Atlas Contractus*, Amsterdam, c.1677.

which partly financed local public expenditure. The Venetian authorities repeatedly faced sanitation and ecological problems in the city, as a result of the disposal of waste in the streets, on vacant plots of land and in the harbour, which were liable to further the spreading of disease. In 1360 they instituted a waste collection service, financed by the local population. In 1384 it was decided that the large expense involved in the removal of the waste would be partly supported by a rise in the taxation of cheese and wine exported by foreigners to destinations other than Venice.¹⁶

Since the second half of the twelfth century, ships had increasingly crossed the high seas when sailing between the West and the region extending from Rhodes to Egypt. This development provided a decisive boost to Candia's economy. Some vessels proceeded along Crete's southern coast,¹⁷ and several ports located along the northern coast served as outlets for the island products, as noted above. However, Candia's favorable position, its harbour,¹⁸ and Venetian rule furthered its function as a major port of call and transit station, the only Cretan one integrated within the long-distance trade and shipping networks of the eastern Mediterranean.

The evolution of this function was closely connected to changing geopolitical and economic conditions in that region. The fall of the Crusader or Frankish states in the Levant in 1291 and the papal ban of that year on supplies to Mamluk Egypt and Syria generated a restructuring of shipping routes in the eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus became the advanced position of the West facing these countries, and Candia the major stopover and transshipment station for Venetian ships with respect to them. In addition, the new conditions furthered Candia's role in bilateral exchanges with Cyprus and the Levant.

The resumption of direct trade between the West and Egypt in 1345 undercut to some extent Candia's role as a transit station for around thirty years, although the city served as a port of call for the Venetian state galleys sailing each year between Venice

and Alexandria and returning with spices and other costly goods. Following the Genoese occupation of Cypriot Famagusta in 1374, which lasted until 1464, Venetian ships increasingly avoided that city and, as a result, Candia assumed major importance as a transit and transshipment station and as a concentration and distribution centre for goods travelling between Venice on the one hand and Alexandria and Beirut on the other. The state galley line from Venice to Cyprus was suspended from 1373 to 1445 and, instead, a new galley line from Candia to Beirut carrying out three voyages per year began to function in the winter of 1373–4. In addition, Venice established a state galley line connecting Venice to Beirut, with a stop in Candia.

The Venetian government furthered Candia's function as main intermediary between Venice and the Levant by fiscal measures. Spices and other goods carried by Venetian ships from Egypt or Syria transiting through Candia were exempt of taxes, provided they were locked up in state warehouses until further shipment to Venice. In 1374, the year in which Genoa seized Famagusta, Venice lowered the tax on goods belonging to foreigners passing through Candia in order to encourage that traffic. The temporary storage of goods in Candia enabled several sailings between the city and Egypt or Syria during the navigation season, instead of one from Venice, and thus the shipping of a larger volume of merchandise.¹⁹ Occasionally, as occurred in 1398 and 1425, the Cretan authorities were instructed to send ships to Beirut or Alexandria to pick up goods, especially spices, since the returning state galleys had been filled to capacity.²⁰ Galleys were occasionally dispatched from Venice to Candia and other Venetian ports to load spices brought from Egypt or Syria as well as other commodities – three in 1427, two in 1429, and one in 1437.²¹ In 1404 a private vessel sent to Alexandria was instructed to take on board a large quantity of spices stored in Candia on its return voyage.²²

Candia's function as transit and transshipment sta-

tion was enhanced by its location along one of the major maritime routes connecting Constantinople with the western Mediterranean. Beginning in the thirteenth century Candia became an important market and distribution centre for slaves, some originating in the Black Sea while others were Greeks from the Aegean, sold by Cretan and foreign pirates or by merchants who brought them from Constantinople, Catalan-occupied territories of Greece, the Turkish emirates of Asia Minor, or Genoese Chios. The slaves were partly absorbed in the urban households of Candia, yet most of them were apparently shipped to Italy, southern France and the Iberian peninsula.²³ The passage of Genoese ships loading wine in Candia on their east- or westbound voyages has already been mentioned above. Goods from Venice carried by galleys sailing to Alexandria were occasionally transhipped in Candia in order to be sent to Constantinople, as in 1437. In the same year silk sent from Constantinople first reached Candia, from where it was transferred to Modon in the southwestern Peloponnese in order to be shipped on a state galley to Venice.²⁴ In the early fifteenth century Candia also functioned as a transit station for lead, wax and honey travelling from Thessaloniki to Alexandria.²⁵

Candia's trade was furthered by Greek and Jewish merchants from Crete settled abroad in a vast region extending from Venice in the west to Trebizond in the Black Sea and Tana at the mouth of the Don River in the east. The expatriates often maintained contact with members of their respective families or with other individuals residing in their city of origin, and took advantage of their acquaintance with market conditions to conduct business with Candia's merchants and mariners or to act as their agents.²⁶ Best known among them are three brothers of the Filomati family, which had emigrated from Candia to Venice. In the 1430s and 1440s they jointly conducted business, one of them being established in each of these cities and another in Constantinople.²⁷

The transportation of precious goods on board

Venetian state galleys and the leasing of these ships were the exclusive preserve of Venetian citizens residing in Venice. Yet small and medium-sized private ships, many of which were based in Candia, fulfilled a crucial function in eastern Mediterranean trade. They partly ensured the concentration of the island's surpluses and goods brought by sea from other ports in Candia, their diffusion from the city, and their moving in the framework of bilateral exchanges between Crete and other regions. They were also involved in the transit of goods through Candia. The bulk of shipping carried out by vessels based in the city took place within the Aegean, with the Peloponnese, other islands, and the Turkish emirates of Asia Minor, yet these vessels also sailed to Venice, Constantinople, Cyprus and the Levant.²⁸ From the fourteenth century onwards, and especially in the first half of the fifteenth century, they extended the range of their operations to traffic between foreign ports. For instance, in 1415 vessels from Candia operated between Tana and Constantinople, and in the 1430s between that city on the one hand, and Cyprus, Beirut, Thessaloniki, Modon and Messina, on the other.²⁹ They were also reaching Tunis by 1441.³⁰

Candia provided services in addition to marketing and shipping. The combination of overland and maritime transportation, as well as the passage, concentration and diffusion of goods, required storage and transshipment, the supply of provisions, equipment, ship maintenance and repairs to local and passing vessels, including those carrying pilgrims.³¹ Besides handling goods in transit, resident merchants acted as middlemen and sources of information in complex trade ventures between several regions that involved money-changing and credit. Credit operations and transfers of money were partly achieved by investment in maritime trade. Some of these operations were particularly intensive in specific periods of the year, in close connection to the seasonal navigation patterns in the Mediterranean.³² Cumulatively they generated large-scale employment and a sub-

stantial volume of private income. This income was partly reinvested in Candia and, more generally, in Crete's economy, whether in the rural sector, trade, shipbuilding, transportation, services, construction, or in individual consumption and the bolstering of social standing.

Candia fulfilled major functions in the Venetian naval defence system, in view of its strategic location at the crossing of major east-west and north-south navigation lanes in the eastern Mediterranean. It was the seat of an arsenal in which galleys were constructed and repaired and a base for the outfit, manning and provisioning of Venetian ships fitted for the protection of commercial vessels and combat against enemy fleets, corsairs and pirates. Especially the threat from Turkish pirates was continuously on the rise in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The supply of foodstuffs to Venetian fleets is illustrated in 1402, when the duke of Crete Marco Falier was ordered to dispatch as fast as possible 18,738 to 31,200 kilograms of ship biscuits and 2,562 kilograms of Cretan cheese, corresponding to 64,062 daily rations, to the naval force sailing towards Constantinople.³³

It is generally assumed that as a colonial power Venice exploited the Cretan economy to its own advantage. This view is only partially correct. Admittedly, Venice directly ensured its own supplies by imposing grain and salt deliveries on the Cretans and, indirectly, by using Candia as a warehouse for goods in transit and as a naval base.³⁴ Yet much if not all of its tax revenues in Crete remained in the island to finance the operation of its administration and public expenditure in the construction and repair of buildings and ships, as well as in naval activity. These state functions were especially extensive in Candia.

In 1455 the self-conscious Cretan élite proudly proclaimed that 'the city of Candia is another city of Venice in the East'.³⁵ This statement undoubtedly reflects Candia's rise as a major emporium, which reached a peak in the first half of the fifteenth century. Yet it also points to the élite's self-image, its lifestyle,

and its emulation of the social élite in Venice. These attitudes are evidenced by the rising consumption of medium- to high-quality goods, especially of products acting as status symbols. Demand among the wealthy was stimulated both by the accumulation of individual wealth and by the impact of consumption patterns, refinement in taste, and fashions in Venice. In Crete, members of the Venetian élite granted their daughters dowries 'according to the custom of the noblewomen of Venice'. These dowries, which often included clothing and jewellery, ranged from 500 to 3,000 Cretan hyperpyra around the mid-fourteenth century. The inflation in their value in the last quarter of that century followed the trend attested in Venice.³⁶ In 1420 the Venetian Senate limited marriage expenditure for virgins to 1,600 ducats, the equivalent of 7,328 Cretan hyperpyra – one third, or 2,442 hyperpyra, for the outfit of the bride, and the remainder for the dowry.³⁷ It is likely that this rule also applied to Crete.

The increasingly ostentatious lifestyle of wealthy Latin, Greek and Jewish residents induced the Venetian authorities of the island to issue sumptuary laws, in the spirit of those enacted in Venice. The adoption of these laws was partly prompted by religious and moral considerations. Yet, as explicitly stated in Venice in 1360, a major concern of the authorities was to prevent the ruinous effects of heightened luxury spending and the immobilisation of liquid capital, which was considered detrimental to investments in productive activities and, more generally, to the operation of the economy.³⁸ The sumptuary laws issued in Crete in 1339 restricted luxury in dress, its ornamentation, and the wearing of costly jewellery made of gold and pearls for children from the age of ten, as well as for adult men and women. Clothing made of velvet, samite or gold-interwoven silks were specifically mentioned in that context. Expenditure for wedding festivities was also limited.³⁹

This legislation had little or no effect. In 1373–5 fine Flemish woollens arriving via Venice, other Italian cloth, and silks including velvets most likely

produced in Venice were available in Candia.⁴⁰ The absence of luxury textile manufacture in Crete partly accounts for the continuous import of costly fabrics, despite heavy taxation. Small silk pieces such as girdles, hoods, veils and kerchiefs produced in Candia may have been included in the attire of local wealthy women, yet did not satisfy their taste for luxury.⁴¹ Significantly, in 1388 Venetian low-quality velvets possibly made of *fulicello* (floss or rough silk) could not be sold in Candia and were returned to Venice.⁴² In 1422 Venice imposed a 20 per cent tax on textiles imported by foreigners and on their purchase by local residents. In 1425 it entirely prohibited the import of foreign textiles to Crete, except for those brought from Venice and by Venetians for sale in the Levant, which would be locked in a state warehouse in Candia until being re-exported.⁴³ These measures were intended to protect the export of Venetian textiles, rather than limit luxury consumption, yet they reveal the ongoing demand for costly textiles in Candia.

In 1444 the young Quirina, daughter of Alexios Kallergis and wife of Antonio Mudazzo, owned several expensive velvet garments. In addition, she ordered from Venice at her own expense a gold-interwoven silk garment costing between 90 and 100 ducats, equivalent to 412 and 458 Cretan hyperpyra, considerable sums for a single garment when compared with contemporary Cretan daily wages or even dowries of brides belonging to the social élite.⁴⁴ Quirina requested several other precious clothing pieces made of velvet and announced further purchases in the future. Greek by birth yet married to a Latin and a self-conscious member of the social élite, she emphasised that these clothing pieces should be of a quality fitting her rank.⁴⁵ Quirina belonged to a limited group of wealthy residents likely to commission costly icons and devotional panels, who decisively contributed to the development of Candia into a major artistic centre in the first half of the fifteenth century.

- 1 Jacoby 1998a, pp 297–313, repr. in Jacoby 2009, no.IV. There is no evidence of Latin settlers in the city before 1204, contrary to other Byzantine cities: see next note.
- 2 Jacoby 1993, pp 517–40, repr. in Jacoby 2001a, no.II.
- 3 Also for the previous paragraph, see Jacoby 2001b, pp 197–222, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.IX.
- 4 Jacoby 1998b, pp 86, 88–9, 94, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII; Jacoby 2001b, pp 222–3, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.IX; Thomas 1880–99, pp 246–8; Thiriet 1978, p.55, no.63; Noiret 1892, pp 228–9, 271, 329–34.
- 5 Orlandini 1925, p.32, lines 7–8, and p.56, lines 4–5; for the dating of this trade manual, see *ibid* pp 4–6.
- 6 Summary in Noiret 1892, p.355.
- 7 For the whole section on cheese, see Jacoby 1999, pp 49–68, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VIII; Jacoby 1998b, pp 85, 89–90, 92–3, 96, 100, 104, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII; Jacoby 2002b, pp 70–73, 78, repr. in Jacoby 2009, no.XII; Jacoby 2008, pp 27–8; Jacoby 2010, pp 132–3, 149–51.
- 8 Porro 1855, p.43.
- 9 Jacoby 1998b, p.88, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII; Esposito 1960, p.42, par.22.
- 10 Crete still exported grain by the first half of the fifteenth century, yet in case of bad harvest had to import it, as in 1387, 1403 and early 1404: Jacoby 1998b, p.86, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII; Thiriet 1978, pp 80–81 and 123–4, respectively nos 85 and 123.
- 11 Jacoby 2010; Hemmerdinger-Iliadou 1967, pp 457–5, provides only a partial list of the numerous pilgrims who left travel accounts for the period considered here.
- 12 Noiret 1892, p.444.
- 13 For the whole section on wine, see Jacoby 1998b, pp 92–4, 96, 100, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII; Jacoby 2008, pp 31–2; Jacoby 2010, pp 140–48.
- 14 Jacoby 2010, pp 142, 145; Jacoby 1998b, pp 93–4, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII; Zug Tucci 1978, pp 322–3, for the capacity of wine-carrying ships.
- 15 Jacoby 2010, p.146. On coopers in Candia in the years 1418–27, see Maltezou 1987, pp 330–31.
- 16 Jegerlehner 1904, pp 459–61, nos 33–6; Theotokes 1936–7, pp 273–4, no.7.
- 17 Jacoby 1997, pp 536–7.
- 18 Gertwagen 1998, pp 350–64, 367–71, rightly insists on the silting of the harbour and the repeated works undertaken to prevent that process, yet has produced a skewed picture. Contrary to her assertion, these works and many documents prove that the harbour operated continuously and that ships anchored in it, except for some large vessels at various times.
- 19 Jacoby 1998b, pp 94–102, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII, for the last two paragraphs.
- 20 Noiret 1892, pp 91, 305.
- 21 Sathas 1890–1900, pp 326, 357–8, 441–2.
- 22 Noiret 1892, pp 148–51.
- 23 Jacoby 1998b, pp 86, 93, 94 n.97, 104–5, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII; Zachariadou 1983, pp 160–63; McKee 1995, pp 58–65; Wright 2001, pp 197–237. Many Black Sea slaves reached Venice, as in 1423, without passing through Candia: Thiriet 1958–61, p.202, no.1879.
- 24 Dorini and Bertelè 1956, pp 286, lines 2–3, and 361, lines 2–6.
- 25 Dopp 1958, p.143.
- 26 Venice: Jacoby 2002a, p.75, in 1414; Trebizond: Jacoby 1998b, p.83, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII in 1371; Tana: Prokofieva 2000, pp 72, 74, 75–6, and 80, respectively nos 45, 48, 50 and 59, all in 1415.
- 27 On the Filomati brothers, see Jacoby 2002a, pp 57–9.
- 28 Candia as a collection centre for raw materials such as silk and kermes, a dyestuff, in 1404: Thiriet 1978, p.137, no.129. *Griparia* and *barca* were the predominant ship types in short- and medium-range traffic: see Gaspares 1988, pp 287–318, esp. 293–304. See also above p.43 and below p.45.
- 29 Tana: Prokofieva 2000, pp 80, 121–2, respectively nos 59, 130; Beirut: Dorini and Bertelè 1956, p.584, lines 2–6; Messina: *ibid* p.198, lines 1–5, p.199, lines 40–42. see also Bertelè 1960, pp 56–7.
- 30 Noiret 1892, pp 398–9.
- 31 See above, n.11.
- 32 See Jacoby 1998b, pp 80–81, 83–4, 92–3, 97–8, 100–101, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII.
- 33 On Candia's naval functions, see Thiriet 1959, pp 243–51; Jacoby 1981, pp 169–201, repr. Jacoby 1989, no.XI; Jacoby 1998b, pp 103–5, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII. On the arsenal, see also Thiriet 1961–2, pp 344–5, repr. in Thiriet 1977, no.IX, and Gertwagen 1998, pp 371–4.
- 34 On salt, see Jacoby 1998b, p.89, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII; on grain, see above p.41.
- 35 Noiret 1892, p.449: *Civitas Candide est alia civitas Venetiarum apud Levantem*.
- 36 See McKee 1995, pp 40–43, 46, 50–1; Gallina 1998, pp 268, 272, 280–91.
- 37 Noiret 1892, pp 276–8. For the sake of comparison, 12.8 kg wheat cost about ½ hyperpyron, a female mule 70–88 hyperpyra, the wage of house servants about 30 hyperpyra per year, of a cooper about 80, of a sailor in the navy about 100 hyperpyra. Morrisson and Cheynet 2002, pp 828, 841, 863; Maltezou 1987, pp 340–41.
- 38 Bistort 1912, p.66, n.2.
- 39 Jegerlehner 1904, pp 464–6, pars.14–22, 26.
- 40 Jacoby 1998b, pp 91–2, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII.
- 41 On the domestic production of these pieces, see Jacoby 2008, p.36. A kerchief from Candia appears in an inventory compiled in Venice in 1404: Jacoby 1998b, p.91, repr. in Jacoby 2005, no.VII.
- 42 Noiret 1892, p.22.
- 43 *Ibid* pp 293–4, 308–9.
- 44 On the value of dowries, see above p.45–6. For the rate of 4 Cretan hyperpyra, 14 soldi or 4.58 hyperpyra per Venetian ducat, see Maltezou 1986, p.143, n.19.
- 45 See Maltezou 1986, pp 139–47, document on pp 145–6.

The Icon in Constantinople around 1400

ROBIN CORMACK

A MAJOR LACUNA in the study of late Byzantine art is the definition of the nature of the icon production of Constantinople around 1400. The lack of consensus in giving an answer is apparent from the discussion on the Triumph of Orthodoxy icon in the British Museum (cat.4). The literature at present takes two incompatible positions on the question of its date and provenance. On one side it is seen as a work of art in which are embedded the theological and intellectual discussions of Constantinople in the second half of the fourteenth century and that it represents in its style the art of Constantinople. The alternative proposal that it was a Cretan production has been made with confidence by Nano Chatzidakis.¹ Her argument is that it has several features of iconography which are distinctive to Crete. To reject this alternative suggestion requires setting up a convincing scenario of painting in Constantinople, looking at manuscripts and wall painting as well as icons of the period. There is also the broader question of whether in this period of mobility and changing patronage one can envisage artists working in one place rather than moving to many different commissions within and outside the contracting Byzantine Empire.

It is therefore very disconcerting to read a recent black-and-white solution to this issue in the words of Stephane Yerasimos: 'In the mid-fourteenth century,

the production of icons ceased in Constantinople. The capital was stretched beyond its limits in a hopeless struggle for survival.'² Such an extreme statement makes it clear that much yet needs to be done to clarify the general artistic situation in Constantinople itself around 1400. For there is plenty of literature, which makes the assumption that it is legitimate to attribute icons to Constantinople in this period. One has only to look at the catalogue of the exhibition *Faith and Power*³ to see that the catalogue writers were not inhibited from making attributions to Constantinople after the middle of the fourteenth century. Indeed the superb double-sided icon with the Virgin Pafsolype and ten Feast Scenes and the Crucifixion and four Prophets (cat.2) – which is still located in Istanbul in the collection of the Ecumenical Patriarchate – is attributed to a production in that city for a monastery with this dedication founded in the mid-fourteenth century and renovated in 1365.⁴ This entry by Weyl-Carr also attributes the *Helkomenos* Crucifixion icon from Monemvasia (fig.10) to Constantinople in this period, and argues that various motives found in Cretan icons (such as the crossed ankles of the child Jesus, the gestures of his arms, and the position of the Virgin's fingers) are already to be found in the art of fourteenth-century Constantinople in the Virgin Pafsolype icon. This icon with its high-quality set of paintings

Fig.10

Icon of the Crucifixion, from the *Helkomenos* church, Monemvasia, second half of the 14th century. Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum (inv.no BXM 981).



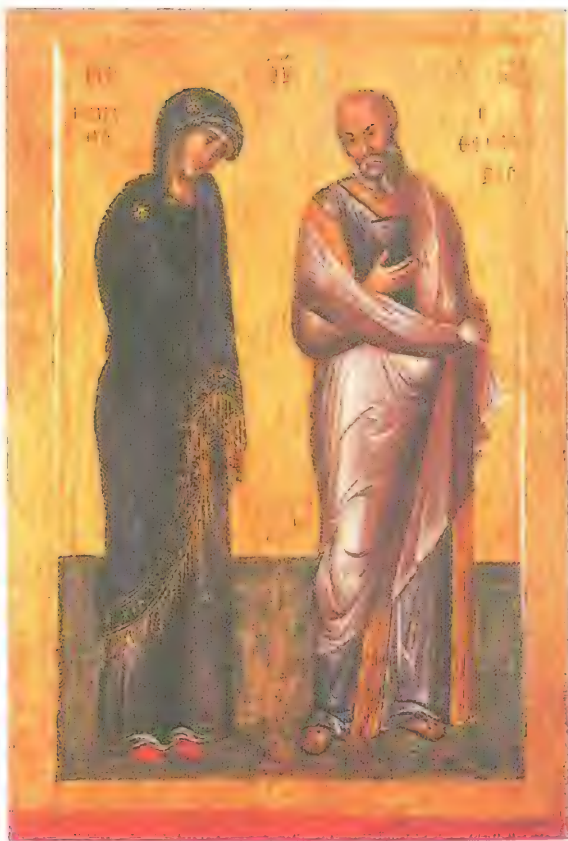


Fig.11
The two-sided 'Poganovo' icon, late 14th century:
(a) The Virgin and St John the Theologian
(b) The Vision of the Latomou monastery, Sofia, church of Alexander Nevsky, Crypt (inv.no.2057).

must be considered as a key witness to the nature of art in Constantinople the second half of the fourteenth century. It is an important key to the character of Constantinopolitan art in the period before Angelos. It shows the developing iconographies which were taken up in Crete (and no doubt elsewhere), and it shines with the decorative colours and effects which are also hallmarks of the art of Angelos.

The problem is caused by the perennial difficulty of the study of Byzantine Constantinople throughout all periods – the loss of firmly documented and dated materials from that capital city. The art-historical strategies for dealing with this problem are traditional, but at the same time highly speculative. The most common method is to attribute work of the highest quality to the artists of Constantinople, and so to build up a profile of the cultural capital of the Byzantine world. This strategy is unfortunately clearly circular – it excludes the possibility of regional excellence and development. It is tantamount to saying that an artist

of the ability of Angelos must have come from Constantinople, whereas one is more likely today to assume that his background and training was firmly attached to the city of Candia (although for some reason he was embarking on a visit to Constantinople in 1436). The argument would also imply that a number of other known artists in the fourteenth century must have been trained in Constantinople – artists like Michael Astrapas and Eutychios who worked in the Balkans, George Kalliergis who worked at Verroia, or even the more shadowy figure of Manuel Panselinos who was reputed to have painted the wall decoration of the church of the Protaton on Mount Athos. Such a conclusion for the origin of these artists can be fairly robustly challenged, and a training and career based in the city of Thessaloniki be proposed instead for all these figures. This argument would depend on the fact that their known works are all documented in this area of the Byzantine world and they are not known to have lived or been commissioned in Constantino-

ple. However, in my opinion a poor argument for their affiliation to Thessaloniki would be to say that they have in common the stylistic traits of a 'Macedonian School', consisting in a roughness and brutal realism which was different from the academic and more decorative interests of an equally putative 'School of Constantinople'. The danger of this proposed polarity – which has of course a long history, at least as far back as Gabriel Millet's work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (summarised in 1916) – is that it simplifies the production of Late Byzantine art, it assumes that artists were static rather than itinerant, and it groups into the two categories many undocumented paintings. It ignores, for example, the complexity of the art of Thessaloniki itself where, during the early fourteenth century, the church of Holy Apostles with its influential mosaics was very likely the work of the same artist who worked in Constantinople at the Chora monastery between 1315 and 1321. While the concept of regional schools appears superficially useful as a way of grouping works of similar style, the proposed scenario cannot do justice to the individual careers of the artists of Late Byzantium, whose work developed in response to all sorts of different experiences and demands. The idea of an isolated and self-contained 'Macedonian School' is simply not credible. And this is instantly shown by the proper scholarly uncertainty that surrounds, for example, the icon of Poganovo (fig. 11). It copies the apse mosaic of the Latomou monastery (Hosios David) in Thessaloniki and has other elements which might be connected with the sacred sites of that city; but it does not follow without careful justification that its artist was 'Macedonian' rather than from Constantinople.⁵ Other examples of the strategy of connecting the highest quality with Constantinople are to be found in the analysis of the wall paintings in the town of Mystras, attributing for example the decoration of the churches of the Afendiko and the Peribleptos monasteries to artists from Constantinople. It is not that this attribution is intrinsically wrong; indeed it

has been very well argued in the literature (by Manolis Chatzidakis and Doula Mouriki). It is that it is based on assumptions which very likely over-simplify the artistic production of the period, and lead to the idea that retrospective interests in classicism are a distinctive characteristic of the more knowledgeable artists of the capital rather than of artists in the provinces.

Finding the art of Constantinople around 1400

The aim of this chapter is not to give a detailed survey of late Byzantine painting, but to review some of the problems which currently inhibit our understanding the nature of icon production in Constantinople around 1400. Since Byzantine artists were not limited to one medium but were individuals who could produce mosaics, wall paintings, icons and probably manuscript illuminations (not to mention ephemera, such as painted banners and suchlike), one cannot limit an enquiry about Late Byzantine painters to icons alone. The first place to look, therefore, is in the churches of the city and to ask what survives there. The main problem is that, in scholarship at least, the mosaics and wall painting of the monastery of the Chora (now the Kariye Çami) dominate the perception of the fourteenth-century Byzantine art. The rest of the century is seen as a period where the pictorial ideas of this high point of style and quality are seen to be endlessly repeated rather than developed, and so to lead to a diminution of artistic enterprise. So the fragmentary frescoes of the Archangel Michael and Saints Kosmas and Damian of the first half of the fifteenth century are described in the monastery's publication as the work of 'a craftsman-designer rather than of someone who might be thought of as a creative artist-painter'.⁶ As for the Tomb G painting of the deceased standing before the enthroned Virgin and Child in the second bay of the outer narthex of the Chora church of the fifteenth century (fig. 12), it is exceptional for exhibiting an extraordinarily good knowledge of the perspectival interests of the art of quattrocento Italy.⁷ The difficulty is in knowing how

far we can generalise about the art of Constantinople on the basis of this one bay. In my opinion it is reasonable to take it as a significant indication of the interests of Late Byzantine painters, and does indeed indicate that the new composite art of Crete in the time of Angelos, with its progressive combinations of eastern and western elements, should be regarded as a mode of expression which was not confined to the Venetian territories alone, but penetrated to the capital city of Constantinople itself.

There are other media which are accepted as the work of artists working in Constantinople, notably micro-mosaics. It is therefore relevant to note that most of these are dated in the literature before the middle of the fourteenth century. The conclusion in this case must surely be that the patronage for such expensive and exquisite items was indeed in decline in the last hundred years of Byzantium, which was a period when even the imperial court was apparently using relics and luxury objects as items of exchange to foreign patrons. This, at any rate, is the conclusion which can be drawn from the lectionary binding with reused Byzantine enamels now in the Complesso Museale di Santa Maria della Scala at Siena.⁸ This was acquired by the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena in 1359 together with a set of relics which came from Constantinople, said to be from the imperial treasury and sold by empress Eirene, wife of John VI Kantakouzenos.

In these circumstances one must ask whether there was an exodus of artists from Constantinople in search of commissions elsewhere. This is actually documented in a number of cases, and there must have been many more. For example, we know of good Byzantine artists working in Genoa – Marcus in 1313 and Demetrius in 1371 – and this must be only one example of the movement of artists among many.⁹ An inscription in the church of Calendziha in Georgia informs us that the artist of the sanctuary decoration was a painter called Manuel Eugenikos, who was commissioned from Constantinople by two monks between 1384 and 1396.¹⁰ The most famous émigré of



Fig.12

Tomb G: wall painting with the deceased woman before the enthroned Virgin and Child, c.1425–50. Istanbul, Chora monastery.

all from Constantinople was Theophanes the Greek (Theofan Grek), whose career is set out in a Russian letter of around 1415 by Epifanij the Wise.¹¹ He was born in around 1340 and worked first in Constantinople, leaving for the north around 1370. In 1378 he was documented painting in the Church of the Transfiguration in Novgorod, in 1395 he was working in the Church of the Nativity in the Moscow Kremlin, in 1399 in the Archangel cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin, and in 1405 he was working in the Cathedral of the Annunciation in the Moscow Kremlin, side by side with Andrei Rublev and Prokhor of Gorodetz. He died in around 1410. His work in Moscow included several icons and manuscript illuminations as well as wallpainting. The work of Theophanes in Novgorod and Moscow seems to us highly original, not to say eccentric in its dashing lines and daring colours. But setting out his work in chronological order, one can discern a pattern of development from beginnings influenced by the style at the Chora



Fig.13
Theophanes the Greek,
detail from the two-sided
icon with the Virgin of the
Don, late 14th century
Moscow, State Tretyakov
Gallery.

monastery and developing into a new and expressive style (fig. 13).¹² Since similar distortions of figure style are found in the wall paintings at a rock-cut church at Ivanovo in northern Bulgaria, it seems that Theophanes the Greek does represent a new form of art, but that his ideas were not uniquely due to his travels to distant Novgorod and Moscow, but were shared by other Byzantine artists. His late style does not however seem to have been known in Crete.

We do not know if these itinerant artists moved away from Byzantium for new markets out of dire financial necessity or because they were free spirits (as has been suggested for Theophanes' move to distant Novgorod). The former seems more likely. However what they have in common is a particular expertise in wall painting, and it may be that fresco commissions in Constantinople were hard to find. The last mosaic work in Hagia Sophia was necessitated by the earthquake damage of 19 May 1346 and was carried out shortly after 1355 (the restoration of the Christ Pantokrator in the dome, the two eastern pendentives and the great eastern arch with the figures of the Virgin Orant, St John the Baptist, the emperor John V Palaiologos and the Etoimasia). This is the latest monumental mosaic work in Constantinople.

Icons, however, are a cheaper medium of production than wall paintings and mosaics and must have been needed to function in the many churches and buildings of Constantinople which still attracted the attention of visitors from Russia¹³ and from the West, such as the Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo who visited all the sites in 1403. Icons for devotion were a continuing necessity for the native citizens of Constantinople, and the Russian accounts demonstrate that there was no shortage of such works in the streets and churches of the city.

The people most likely to stay resolutely in Constantinople, however difficult the times, were the monks and nuns who did not have the freedom to leave the mother house. The monasteries of Constantinople were therefore the most likely patrons in this

period, and the houses may have included monks who acted as scribes and illuminators. At this point we can review the picture of artistic production of late Byzantium given in a number of careful surveys.

Late Byzantine art

Succinct, well-informed and perceptive surveys of this period were contributed by Demus¹⁴ and Chatzidakis.¹⁵ These are masterpieces of their period, yet reading them today is somewhat akin to reading Edward Gibbon's late eighteenth-century *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Just as Gibbon was covering much the same primary texts as we still do today, so Demus and Chatzidakis were in control of the monuments. Yet they are locked into a formalist conceptual framework of evolution and antithesis that seems now rigid and judgmental. On his terms, Demus covers the development of Byzantine art from the twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries across the whole sweep of the empire, and giving a clear description of the nature of stylistic changes. Similarly Chatzidakis gives a magisterial account of the development through the fourteenth century, covering not only the capital but Mount Athos and the rest of Greece, the Balkans and the islands, and looking at what he calls classical and anti-classical (or popular). He was already well aware of the importance of icons in this period, especially in the collections of the monasteries of Mount Athos and in Thessaloniki, Verroia and Kastoria among other places (as well as the important icons from Athos which are now in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum at St Petersburg), although much of the literature of this period focused on monumental art rather than these icons. These surveys are therefore essential reading¹⁶ but at the same time unspecific as characterisations of the artistic situation in Constantinople itself.

The most pragmatic and clearest picture of art in the capital are given by the studies of manuscripts.¹⁷ Although these authors emphasise the preliminary

status of their overviews, yet a precise account of manuscript production over the fourteenth century emerges. Compared with earlier periods, book production in the fourteenth century was more limited in its types (predominantly Gospel books with pictures of the four Evangelists), and it was not a leading art form – it was a minor art that followed the lead of fresco and icon painting. It follows that illumination is at the least an indicator of influential patterns of art in Constantinople. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, manuscripts were retrospective and often reused models from earlier books, or incorporated ideas from western models. Around 1330 the chief influence was the decoration of the Chora monastery. After the 1340s the number and quality of illuminated manuscripts drops significantly and never recovers. Buchthal attributes this to the crisis of the civil war in this decade. However, the key to the period is the striking manuscript production in the monastery of the Hodegon in Constantinople. Here, a scribe named Joasaph signed and dated 30 manuscripts between 1360 and 1405. It transpires that Joasaph was a monk in the Hodegon monastery who ultimately became the abbot and died in November 1406. There is sufficient evidence from this group of manuscripts to deduce that the major illuminated books of this period were painted in the Hodegon monastery, in particular the Kantakouzenos manuscript in Paris of 1371–5 (B.N. gr.1242). Buchthal attributes the miniatures in this book as well as those of Evangelists in a lectionary at Koutloumoussi on Mount Athos and a Gospel in the Vatican to a master painter who was of great virtuosity in Constantinople.¹⁸ It is his style which is reflected in a slightly developed form in the manuscripts painted by Theophanes and his circle in Moscow. Buchthal also argues that the paintings in the church of the Peribleptos at Mystras are identical in their stylistic features as the work of this miniature-painter, and he notes that the second son of the deposed emperor Kantakouzenos, Manuel, resided there as despot of the Morea between 1349 and 1380. In other words both the artis-

tic and political life of Mystras should be directly connected with Constantinople.

Conclusions

One can argue that the production of icons around 1400 was dependent on the market. It may be that there were workshops in many parts of the Empire which had for sale on spec a variety of icons, but church building and the increasing popularity of the high iconostasis ensured a steady, if not increasing, market for the icon. In Russia, Theophanes and his contemporaries produced a number of sets of large icons for sanctuary screens around the year 1400, and it is clear that Theophanes worked for lay patrons as well as monks. But these productions were preceded a few years earlier by other Deesis icons made by Byzantine artists, such as the seven panels from the so-called Vysotski Cin (now in the State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow). This is the Deesis layer of an iconostasis which, it is said, was made by an artist from Constantinople for the church of the Virgin Mary Panagia in the Vysotsk monastery at Serpukhov (100 kilometres south of Moscow) between 1387 and 1395. It was similarly monks who invited Manuel Eugenikos to work in Georgia, and it is likely that artists came from the capital to work on Mount Athos and in Greece and the Balkans, though it is equally clear that Thessaloniki was an important centre for artistic production too. What is perhaps less clear is whether artists were welcome to come and work in Crete, or whether the Venetians were able to put restrictions on the movements of incoming artists as well as the clergy.

In arguing that the answer to questions of artistic production in Constantinople in the early fifteen century should be sought through investigating the nature of demand, then the obvious substantial patronage is the emperor and the court in the city and the monasteries both in the city and elsewhere. The place where such outcomes can be determined has recently become much clearer through recent publi-



cations of the collections of the monasteries of Mount Athos. In particular the collection of the Monastery of Vatopedi is emerging as an ensemble as important for this period as St Catherine's on Sinai is for earlier centuries. The key studies here have been undertaken by E.N. Tsigaridas and K. Loverdou-Tsigarida.¹⁹ The most important paintings are the sanctuary doors with the Annunciation (fig. 14) from the chapel of the Nativity of the Theotokos in the Library tower. With their attribution to an artist from Constantinople of the early fifteenth century, we have the closest forerunner in Byzantium of the art of Andrei Rublev.

It would be wrong in the present state of evidence to deny the production of icons in Constantinople, as did Yerasimos in the sentence quoted at the beginning of this paper. There may have been a drop in the quantity of icons, but to judge from the double-sided icon with the Virgin Pafsolye, which is currently in need of much further study, there were works of great

importance and quality being produced in the city. The British Museum Triumph of Orthodoxy icon can likewise still be considered as a likely product of Constantinople. What remains in doubt is whether we can characterise 'the art of Constantinople' in this period rather than indicate the nature of the work of various artists and how fashions changed over the century. It was not a homogeneous centre and its artists were invited to work in many other places, where they would come in contact with other traditions and other artists. Maybe for a brief moment in the fifteenth century in Crete there was a unity of fashions under the dominating personality of Angelos. But in the sixteenth century there is a great variety of styles in Crete too, due in part to the personalities of the artists and to the nature of patronage. Constantinople in the fourteenth century was not a cultural backwater.

1 N. Chatzidakis 1998, p.90.

2 Yerasimos 2005, p.152.

3 New York 2004, *passim*.

4 New York 2004, no.90, pp 167-9 (A. Weyl Carr).

5 Athens 2000, no.86, pp 490-92 (E. Bakalova); New York 2004, no.117, pp 198-9 (M. Vaklinova).

6 Mathews and Hawkins 1985, pp 130-33.

7 Underwood 1966, vol.3, pls 548-9.

8 New York 2004, no.312, pp 509-11 (J. Durand).

9 Nelson 1985, pp 564-5.

10 Nelson 1985, p.565.

11 Cormack 1997a, pp 187-9.

12 Lazarev 1961.

13 Majeska, 1984.

14 Demus 1958.

15 Chatzidakis 1971.

16 As is Velmans 1977.

17 Buchthal 1983; Belting 1970; Lowden 2004.

18 Buchthal 1983, pp 164-5.

19 Tsigaridas and Loverdou-Tsigarida 2007, no.51, pp 210-13.

Fig.14

Sanctuary doors with the Annunciation, beginning of the 15th century. Mount Athos, Vatopedi monastery.

From Constantinople to Candia: Icon Painting in Crete around 1400

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IT WAS Manolis Chatzidakis who, in 1962, first expressed the view that the Constantinopolitan painters who were documented to have settled in Crete in the early fifteenth century must have played a decisive role in shaping Cretan painting.¹ He believed, in other words, that these Constantinopolitan artists brought from the capital of Byzantium to the capital of Crete certain iconographic and stylistic norms, which became fundamental in shaping and developing Cretan painting. Of course, in the early 1960s the evidence for the presence of Constantinopolitan artists in Crete was rather limited. In fact, only the names of Alexios Apokafkos and Nikolaos Philanthropenos were known to Chatzidakis, and no information concerning their artistic activity, was available to him at that time.²

Some years later, however, the researches of Father Mario Cattapan in the State Archives of Venice uncovered the names of many more artists who had left Constantinople for Crete and brought to light important information concerning their artistic activity.³ They all appear to have been living and working in Candia. Thanks to Father Cattapan, not only were such names as Theodoros Mouzelis, Georgios Chryssokephalos, Emmanouel Ouranos and Angelos Apokafkos added to the few already known, but the period during which they settled in

Crete was moved for a few of them a century earlier, from the early fifteenth to the first decades of the fourteenth century. Recently Maria Constantoudaki-Kitromilides has added more information regarding the names and activity of Constantinopolitan painters living and working in Candia.⁴ Thanks to both Cattapan and Constantoudaki-Kitromilides, the names that we now have as belonging to painters who left Constantinople and settled in Candia are the following: Theodoros Mouzelis, George Chryssokephalos, Emmanouel Vranas (previously mentioned as Ouranos), Andronikos Synadinos, Ioannis tou Maistro, Alexios and Angelos Apokafkos and Nikolaos Philanthropenos.

Theodoros Mouzelis was already settled in Candia by 1331 as, on 17 June 1331, he signed an agreement with Marinus Granella to work in the latter's workshop for a year.⁵ Georgios Chryssokephalos went first to Cyprus before he sailed to Candia, where he arrived in January 1357.⁶ Emmanouel Vranas received a commission on 6 November 1399 to paint a church of the Virgin in the village of Malia in collaboration with the painter Andronikos Synadinos. Vranas received another commission in February 1413 from Anna Cornario to paint the church of the Virgin Eleousa in Kitharida.⁷ Ioannis tou Maistro joined the workshop of Vranas for a year in March 1402.⁸

The best documented among these painters are three: Alexios Apokafkos, Angelos Apokafkos and Nikolaos Philanthropenos. The oldest known document about Alexios Apokafkos reveals that he maintained an icon workshop in the city of Candia, in which he accepted apprentices. On 24 April 1399 he accepted Georgios Angeletos, son of the widow Angelina Angeleto, an inhabitant of Candia, as an apprentice in his workshop, and promised to teach him the art of painting over an interval of seven years.⁹ This suggests that Apokafkos was established in Candia by then and had already developed a respectable professional profile. On 13 July 1412, he agreed to decorate a pair of curtains for the Venetian Zipanò Contarini.¹⁰ Alexios had agreed to do similar work for a member of the noble Corner family.¹¹ Archival evidence suggests that Alexios participated at least in the summer and early autumn of 1412 in the fresco decoration of the monastery of Valsamonero, to the south of Candia.¹²

The fact that Alexios Apokafkos was a friend of Joseph Bryennios, legate in Crete of the Patriarch of Constantinople and an important theological figure of the period, says much; and the fact that he was appointed executor of Bryennios' will says even more.¹³ The special honour Bryennios accorded Alexios Apokafkos in appointing him executor of his will is indirect evidence of the social recognition the painter enjoyed. This recognition will not have been unrelated to the fact that he bore the name of the renowned Byzantine family of the Apokafkoi.

Angelos Apokafkos was probably a younger brother of Alexios. On 1 March 1421, Angelos Apokafkos and Markos Pavlopoulos signed a contract in which it was agreed that Angelos would execute a large fresco representation of the Last Judgement for the church of Our Lady of the Angels (Sancta Maria Angelorum) in the burgo of Candia, where Pavlopoulos was a minister.¹⁴

Nikolaos Philanthropenos is the third well documented Constantinopolitan painter. According to

archival documents, he had settled in Candia with his family in the late fourteenth century and kept a workshop there.¹⁵ The first document concerning his artistic activity is a contract signed in Candia on 23 November of the year 1400 between Nikolaos Philanthropenos and the Venetian painter Nicolaus Storlado.¹⁶ In this contract it was agreed that the two painters would establish an official collaboration in the form of a partnership for three years. In the same contract it was also agreed that they would rent a common workshop in Candia, in which they would both exercise their profession, sharing the rent as well as all the expenses occasioned by running this workshop. They would also divide in two equal parts all the profits from the workshop. The penalty clause was fixed at 50 hyperpyra, if either of the two parties were to break the agreement. The second document is of 14 July 1412, in which Philanthropenos undertook to paint a *pala d'altare* (an altar-piece) for the nobleman Alessandro Barbo.¹⁷ In another contract, 2 November 1413, he undertook to gild a pair of curtains for Orestio da Molino within two weeks.¹⁸ Philanthropenos also gave painting lessons, as an apprenticeship agreement of the year 1400 indicates. In this he undertook to teach the art of painting to the young Georgios Moussouros for three years.¹⁹ On 23 July 1418 Georgios Chryssovergis commissioned him to paint two icons, one of the Virgin and the other of St George.²⁰ Finally Philanthropenos' long career took him to Venice, where he worked on the mosaics of San Marco. He signed as a witness in a contract drawn up in Venice, in 1453, in which he is referred to as *magister Nicolaus Philastropino, magister artis musaice in ecclesia Sancti Marci*.²¹

The case of Philanthropenos is interesting not only because he was a very active painter, as the documents inform us, but also because he evidently held an eminent position in the society of Candia. Of course this may have had less to do with his profession and more to do with the fact that he was of Constantinopolitan descent, and indeed a descendant of the illustrious





Philanthropenos family, as well as a relative of the Patriarch of Constantinople Joseph II.²² Even so it is interesting that a man of such social standing should have practised the profession of painter.

Though the activity of the above-mentioned Constantinopolitan painters is well documented in the archival sources, not a trace of their work survives.²³ Not a single work has so far been located that bears the signature of any of them. Even so, surviving works of the beginning of the fifteenth century allow us to speculate on what their artistic production might have looked like. The specific *pala d'altare* that Philanthropenos was commissioned to paint in 1412 for Alessandro Barbo has not survived. A Cretan polyptych of the early fifteenth century – originally from the church of Santo Stefano at Monopoli in Apulia and today in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston – gives us an idea of what such a work would have looked like (fig.15).²⁴ Seven separate pieces of wood constitute the work, which has immense dimensions: 2.4 metres height and 3.1 metres width. The panels are surrounded by an elaborate carved and gilded wooden frame of Late Gothic type. The central and largest panel depicts the Virgin holding the Christ Child rendered in a purely Byzantine iconography and style. She is seated on a marble throne of western appearance. The side panels to the left depict Saints Christopher, Augustine and Stephen, and those to the right St John the Baptist and Saints Nicholas and Sebastian. It is obvious that the painter of the polyptych combined elements of Late Byzantine and Italian, mainly Venetian, iconography and style. Furthermore, the style of some of the figures in the polyptych can be described not simply as Late Byzantine or Palaiologan but as Constantinopolitan,

Fig.15

Polyptych, first half of the 15th century.
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
(gift of Dr Eliot Hubbard,
inv.no.37410).

[illegible]

due to similarities that they appear to have with monuments of the capital, such as the Chora monastery.

Two miniatures from the manuscript W.335 at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore stand as my second candidates in this discussion. One shows the Vision of the Apocalypse (fig.16) and the other St John and Prochoros in front of the cave (fig.xx). This manuscript contains the 'Commentary on the Apocalypse of St John the Evangelist' by Federigo da Venezia, and its colophon on fol.189r says: *Scriptum atque completum fuit hoc celeberrimum opus Candide die X Octobris ad laudem omnipotentis Dei, amen. Millesimo quadragentesimo quintodecimo* ['This most distinguished work was copied to the end in Candia on the 10th day of October for the glory of all-powerful God, amen. In the year one thousand four hundred and fifteen'].²⁵ Given that the text of the manuscript is in the Venetian dialect, the scribe who copied it was surely a Venetian; but the miniaturist, as the style of his painting suggests, must have been a Byzantine. The character of the manuscript's miniatures is entirely consistent with that of artistic production in Venetian Crete. This is especially clear in the miniature of the Vision of the Apocalypse, in which the depiction of St John in accordance with Late Byzantine style and iconography is harmoniously combined with a rendering of the Vision and of the castle in the background based on western models. Similarities between the figure of the sleeping St John and that of Jacob or Joseph from the Chora monastery²⁶ have already been pointed out in 1967 by Dimitrios Pallas in his article on the miniatures of the Walters manuscript, which then belonged to the Olschki collection.²⁷ He also compared the rendering of the mountainous background in the miniature with the Vision of St John and that of the cave in the miniature of St John and Prochoros with similar renderings from the Chora mosaics and frescoes.

I come now to my third example: eight small panels, some of which are still missing today and others of which have been located in museums, galleries and

private collections all over Europe, but which, as has recently been shown, all once belonged to a peculiar composite icon (fig.17).²⁸ The surviving panels are: St Luke painting the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (cat.10), today in the Icon Museum of Recklinghausen; the Crucifixion (cat.11) in the National Museum in Stockholm; and two panels, one with Saints George and Merkourios (cat.12) and the other with the Prophets David and Solomon (cat.13), both in a private collection in Athens.²⁹ The missing panels are: one with St Nicholas enthroned; a second with St John the Evangelist and Prochoros; a third with the Baptism of Christ; and a fourth with the Descent into Hell.³⁰ I mention this work here as I believe it to be the work of a Constantinopolitan painter living and working in Candia around 1400. The iconography and style of these panels clearly display the ability of the painter to work in two different manners, *alla maniera greca* and *alla maniera latina* or *italiana*, which was to become the typical characteristic of Cretan icon painting from that time onwards.

It is puzzling that an icon such as the Triumph of Orthodoxy (cat.4) at the British Museum should have been attributed by Robin Cormack to a Constantinopolitan icon workshop³¹ and at the same time by Nano Chatzidakis to a Cretan one.³² They are agreed, however, that it should be dated to around 1400. Cases like this are by no means rare. The question I would like to raise in relation to such ambivalent and ambiguous attributions is: how should one describe an icon produced by a Constantinopolitan painter working in Crete? As Constantinopolitan or Cretan? How, for example, should we label the icon of the Nativity of Christ from the Andreadis collection (cat.5)?³³ Is it Constantinopolitan or Cretan? Or, what about the icon of the Prayer in Gethsemane from the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna (cat.8).³⁴ Is it Constantinopolitan or Cretan?

We can easily make a longer list of icons which, because of their special association through their iconography and style to monuments in Constantino-

Fig.16

A miniature with the Vision of the Apocalypse, dated 1415. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum (W.335, fol.2v).



ple, are considered to be works of Constantinopolitan painters living in Candia. This is the case of an icon of the Deesis (cat.9) with Christ standing from the monastery of the Hodegetria in southern Crete. St John the Baptist has been paralleled with the mosaic figure of St John at the parekklesion of the Pam-makaristos in Constantinople.³⁵ Another icon of the

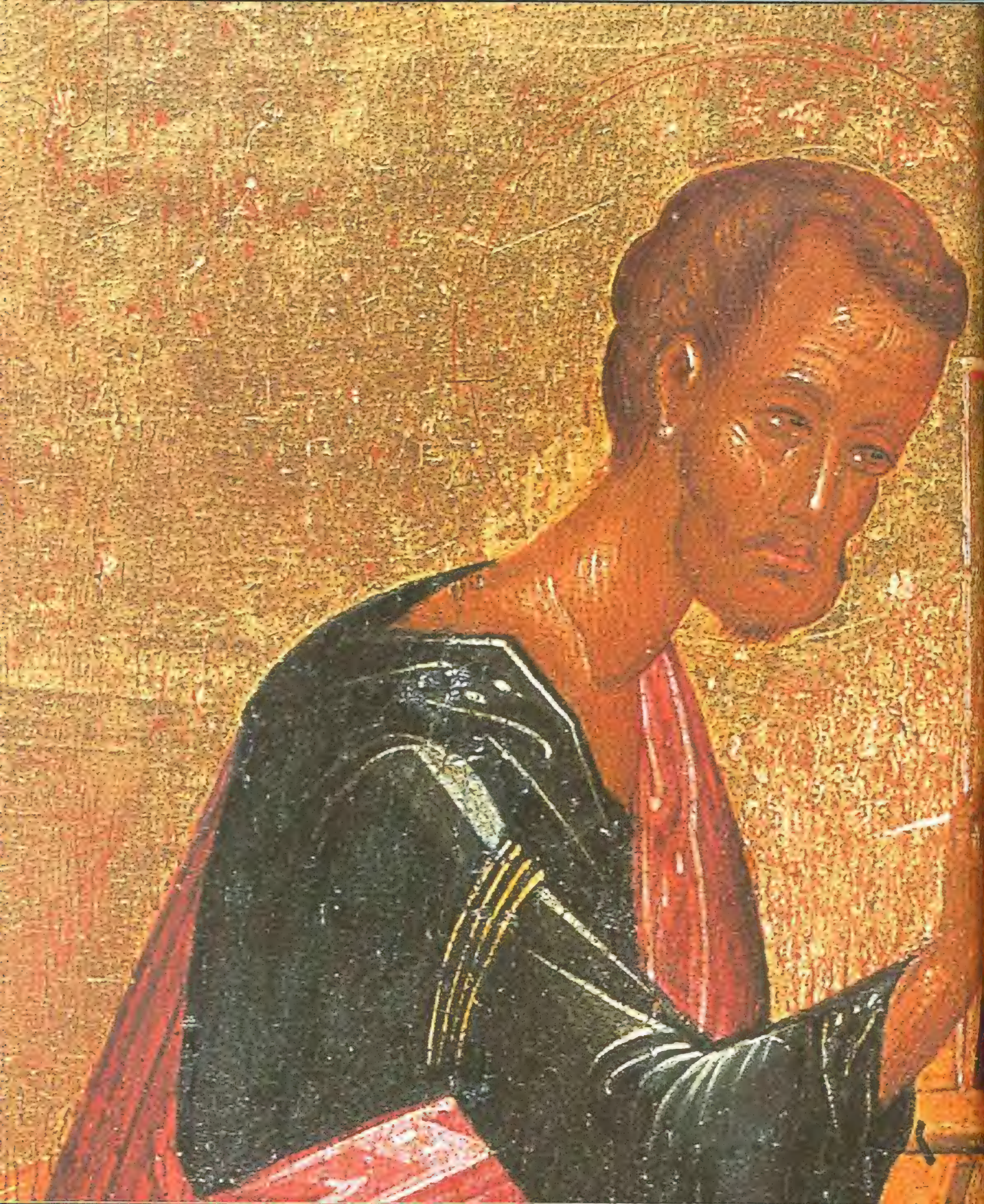
Deesis with Christ enthroned – today in the collection of St Catherine of the Sinaites, Iráklion – is also believed to be the work of a Constantinopolitan painter who was active in Candia c.1400.³⁶ What is clear is that this second icon with the Christ enthroned, which Angelos also adopted for three of his icons of this subject (cat.36, 46), is earlier in date.

Fig.17 Six of the eight small panels, now scattered, that once formed a single polyptych, as shown in an old photograph from the auction catalogue of the Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, 18–24 June 1963.

One needs after all to define the art of Crete in the first quarter of the fifteenth century and before the emergence of the painter Angelos in the second quarter of that century. The work of Angelos seems to rely heavily on the art produced in Candia in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. He must have learned the art of painting presumably from the Constantinopolitan painters in Candia. It is not easy to discern

whether Angelos had direct knowledge of the art of Constantinople, in the shape of such monuments as the Chora monastery and Pammakaristos, but it is important to remember that he composed his will on the occasion of a journey to Constantinople in the year 1436.³⁷

- 1 Chatzidakis 1962, p. XXXVIII.
- 2 Veis, 1911–12, no. 22, pp 457–73; Tomadakes 1947, pp 122–3, 126–30; Manoussakas 1960–61b, pp 94–101, 128–44.
- 3 Cattapan 1968, pp 29–46, esp. pp 35, 37–8, 41–2, no. 2; Cattapan 1972, pp 202–35, esp. pp 204, 205, 218–20, nos 12, 13, 14.
- 4 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, pp 709–23.
- 5 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 710.
- 6 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 711.
- 7 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, pp 712–3.
- 8 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 719.
- 9 Cattapan 1972, pp 218–19, no. 12; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 714.
- 10 Cattapan 1972, p. 232; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 714.
- 11 For Michaletus Corner, Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 714.
- 12 Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis 1983, pp 313–21, pls 110–11, figs 275–81. As the monastery in Valsamonero consists of three chapels, Constantoudaki suggests that it is more possible that Alexios Apokalkos was involved in the fresco decoration of the chapel dedicated to St John the Baptist.
- 13 Tomadakes 1947, pp 122–3; Tomadakes 1961, vol. 2, pp 503–4.
- 14 Cattapan 1972, p. 230, no. 31; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 715.
- 15 Cattapan 1968, p. 37, no. 31; Cattapan 1972, p. 204, no. 30; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, pp 265–9.
- 16 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2001, pp 291–8; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 717.
- 17 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, p. 266, n. 7; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 717.
- 18 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, p. 266, n. 9.
- 19 Cattapan 1972, p. 219, no. 13; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, p. 265, n. 2; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, pp 716–17.
- 20 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, p. 266, n. 7; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 717.
- 21 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1982, pp 265–7. Constantoudaki has located in the Venetian archives more documents concerning the presence of Philanthropenos in Venice between the years 1430 and 1436 and his involvement in the mosaics of San Marco. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 718.
- 22 Manoussakas 1960–61b, pp 96–7.
- 23 M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides has associated Chryssokephalos with the funerary icon of Maria Xirou (+1356) with her parents, today in the Byzantine Museum in Nicosia, Cyprus. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 711, n. 9.
- 24 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1993–4, pp 285–301.
- 25 Pallas 1967, pp 362–73; Belting 1970, pp 70–71; Vassilaki 1991, pp 65–77, esp. 69–71, pls 19–20.
- 26 Underwood 1966, vol. 2, pls 152–3, 200–201.
- 27 Pallas 1967, p. 364.
- 28 Haustein-Bartsch 2000, pp 11–28; Kazanaki-Lappa 2000, pp 29–38.
- 29 For the panel in Recklinghausen, Haustein-Bartsch 2000, pp 11–28, pl. 12. For the panel in Stockholm, Abel and Moore 2002, no. 2, pp 25–6. For the two panels in Athens, Kazanaki-Lappa 2000, pls 24–5.
- 30 They are all shown in an old photograph discovered by Eva Haustein-Bartsch in the archives of the Recklinghausen Museum. Haustein-Bartsch 2000, figs 22–3.
- 31 Cormack 1997a, pp 24–51. See also the entries written by the same author on the occasion of the 'Mother of God' and the 'Byzantium 330–1453' exhibitions. Athens 2000, no. 32, pp 34–41 (R. Cormack); London 2008, no. 57, p. 394 (R. Cormack). Annemarie Weyl Carr in her entry for this icon in the *Byzantium: Faith and Power* exhibition catalogue adopts the view of R. Cormack: New York 2004, no. 78, pp 154–5 (A. Weyl Carr).
- 32 N. Chatzidakis 1998, pp 88, 90–91.
- 33 Drandaki 2002, no. 4, pp 24–35.
- 34 Vassilaki 1991a, pp 65–77, repr. in Vassilaki 2009, study no. 10, pp 203–24.
- 35 For the mosaic at Pammakaristos, Belting, Mango, Mouriki 1978, pl. III, figs 22–24a; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p. 722.
- 36 New York 2009, no. 3, p. 44 (M. Vassilaki).
- 37 On the will of Angelos Akotantos, see the essay by M. Kazanaki-Lappa in this catalogue.



CATALOGUE TO PART I



Manuscript with the complete works of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and two inserted miniatures: (a) Emperor Manuel II and family (b) St Dionysios

Images 1403–7, text c.1320–40
Gold and pigments on parchment
(the book bound with ivory covers
set in silver gilt and jewelled frames)
237 folios, 27.3 x 20 cm
(overall dimensions of pages)
Constantinople
Paris, Musée du Louvre,
Département des Objets d'Art, MR 416

Literature: Paris 1958, no.51, pp.32–3, pl.XXI; Athens 1964, no.351, p.337; Paris 1981, no.210, pp.259–60 (binding); Paris 1991, no.60 (manuscript), pp.276–7 (J. Durand) and no.61 (binding), pp.278–81 (D. Gaborit-Chopin); Paris 1992, no.356, pp.463–4 (J. Durand); Spatharakis 1976, pp.139–44 ('MS, Ivoires 100'); Spatharakis 1981, no.278, p.68, and figs.492–4; Lowden 1992, pp.249–60 (esp. pp.250–53); Lowden 1997, pp.420–22, pls.265–6; Lamberz 2000, pp.155–65; Lowden 2004, pp.259–69 (esp. p.261 and fig. 2.5); Gaborit-Chopin 2003, cat.205; Lamberz 2008, pp.133–57, 982–1005 (plates) (esp. pp.144–5); Hutter 2008, pp.159–90, 1008–1039 (plates), (esp. pp.173–5).

THIS EXCEPTIONALLY well preserved and richly illuminated manuscript is of the complete works of the theologian who wrote under the pseudonym Dionysios the Areopagite (c.500), now known as the Pseudo-Dionysios. It was presented to the Benedictine abbey church of Saint-Denis, near Paris, in 1408 by Manuel Chrysoloras, scholar and envoy of Emperor Manuel II. The circumstances are recorded in a note in Chrysoloras' hand on f.237v:

The present book was sent by the most high king and emperor of the Romans Lord Manuel Palaiologos to the monastery of St Dionysios which is in Paris in Francia, or Galatia, from Constantinople, by me, Manuel Chrysoloras, sent as ambassador of the said king in the 6916th year of the world and the 1408th from the incarnation of the Lord. The said king came to Paris four [sic] years previously.

[Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἀπεστάλη παρὰ τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ρωμαίων κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐν Παρυσίῳ τῆς Φωγγίας ἢ Γαλατίας ἀπὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσολωρᾶ πεμφθέντος πρέσβεως παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου βασιλέως. Ἐτεῖ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἑξακισχίλιστον ἑννεακοσιοστὴ ἑξακαικάτω ἀπὸ σαρκώσεως δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου χιλιοστὴ τετρακοσιοστὴ ὀγδόη. Ὅστις εἰρημένος βασιλεὺς ἦλθε πρότερον εἰς τὸ Παρύσιον πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων.]

From 1399 to 1403 Manuel II had travelled to Italy, France and England in an attempt to win support for a crusade to release the Byzantine Empire from the threat of the Ottoman Turks. He was at Saint-Denis in 1401, and on 24 February celebrated the feast of the dedication of the abbey church, together with King Charles VI of France. The long mission was unsuccessful, however, and doubtless the gift of the Pseudo-Dionysios manuscript to Saint-Denis was intended, at least in part, as a gentle reminder of Manuel II's perilous situation.

Once at Saint-Denis the present manuscript joined an earlier Byzantine imperial gift: a copy of Dionysios' works (but without the marginal scholia) presented by Emperor Michael II in 827. But whereas the arrival of Michael II's gift provoked miraculous cures, Manuel II's presentation achieved no comparable wonders. Between 1635 and 1655 the manuscript was rebound, employing two ivory panels from a 14th-century French diptych, inlaid in silver-gilt and jewelled settings, covers that had previously been on a copy of the New Testament Epistles also in the treasury of Saint-Denis (Paris 1991, pp.278–81). The front and back covers seem to have been exchanged at this time. In 1793 the manuscript was alienated from Saint-Denis and deposited in the 'Museum', later the Musée du Louvre.

The figurative images are on two recto pages (fols 1r and 2r – hence they cannot be seen together). Each has a blank verso, and f.2 has the faint ruling pattern of the rest of the book, indicating that it is an original leaf which must have been left blank when the book was first made. Folio 1, however, appears to be an addition. The text commences on f.3r. There are two notable anomalies: the images are very large in proportion to the pages on which they

are painted; and both lack a frame (compare the unframed image of the family of Czar Ivan Alexander in BL Add.MS 39627 (New York 2004, no.27, pp.56–7 (S. McKendrick))).

The saint and imperial family are identified by similar gold inscriptions. Dionysios (Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ Ο ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΗΣ) is dressed as an orthodox metropolitan bishop, and holds a book in his covered left hand, while blessing with his right. The intense concentration of the saint's expression is memorable. Manuel II and his family stand on red cushions, possibly set on a red textile, and gaze out at the viewer with comparably solemn expressions. The Theotokos lightly touches the emperor's and empress's crowns, while the Christ Child spreads his arms in a similar fashion and blesses them both. The iconographic type of the Virgin and Child resembles the Theotokos Zoodochos Pege ('of the life-bearing source') rather than the Theotokos Blachernitissa (contra Paris 1991, p.277). The imperial family are identified by their names and titles: 'Manuel in Christ God faithful king, emperor of the Romans, Palaiologos, and perpetual Augustus' (ΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΤΩ ΘΩ ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Ο ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΟΣ); his wife, 'Helena in Christ God faithful Augusta and empress of the Romans, Palaiologina' (ΕΛΕΝΗ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΤΩ ΘΩ ΠΙΣΤΗ ΑΥΤΟΥΣΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Η ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΝΑ); and sons Ioannes the co-emperor 'in Christ God faithful king, his son' (ΙΩ ΕΝ ΧΩ ΤΩ ΘΩ ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ), 'Theodoros, born in the purple, fortunate despot, his son' (ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ), and 'Andronikos, son of the ruler, Palaiologos, his son' (ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΥΘΕΝΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ). (The absence of Constantinos, born in February 1405, need not imply that the image must have been executed before that date, contra Spatharakis 1976, p.143.) The leaf with the imperial family appears to have lost its cognate half in a rebinding, and to permit re-sewing it has been moved about a centimetre to the left. As a result the left edge of the image is now obscured in the gutter,



the Theotokos is no longer central, and the leaf is narrower than it was originally.

The text of the manuscript has been recognised (Lamberz 2000) as having been written in c.1320–40 by an imperial notary, Michael Klostomalles, long before the prefatory images were executed, and this is important. Klostomalles, in addition to producing imperial documents (over the period 1311–42), transcribed manuscripts for and by the Grand Logothetes, Theodore Metochites (hence his previous identification as the ‘Metochitesschreiber’), and others for presentation to the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos by John Kantakouzenos, later the Emperor John VI (ruled 1347–54). The Louvre manuscript is very carefully written, with high-quality decorated headpieces (on folios 7r, 55v, 147r, 205r and 212r), and much use of gold for prefatory texts, titles, initials, etc. Comparison can be made with the headpieces and gold display script of, for example, the Kantakouzenos manuscript Vatopedi 179, dated 1337 (Christou *et al.* 1991, vol.4, fig.3). Kantakouzenos made frequent reference to the Pseudo-Dionysios in his theological writings, and it would not be surprising if he had owned or commissioned a deluxe copy like the Paris manuscript. Alternatively, the book might have been made for Andronikos II (abdicated 1328, died 1332) or his grandson Andronikos III (died 1341) (Hutter 2008, p.175).

In deciding, therefore, to send a copy of Pseudo-Dionysios’ works to Saint-Denis, Manuel II (or a counsellor) chose to recycle a book, made in the era of (and possibly for) his grandfather John VI, suitably customised by the addition of the two prefatory images. Whether this seeming economy was because of a shortage of time, a shortage of parchment, or for some other reason, is unknown.

The addition of the prefatory images was doubtless undertaken with the specific destination of the manuscript at Saint-Denis in mind. The dynastic image of Manuel II and his family, identified with names and titles, emphasises the continuity represented by the Byzantine (‘Roman’) Empire, while the presence of the Theotokos and Child emphasises their divinely sanctioned rule. It was precisely this continuity that was under dire threat at the time. The representation of St Dionysios as a bishop (of Athens) in full Byzantine



(‘Orthodox’) dress was also a reminder to the abbot and monks of Saint-Denis of the ‘true’ origin of their patron, believed at Saint-Denis (with remarkable optimism and syncretism) to be not only the Areopagite mentioned by St Paul, and the first bishop of Athens, but also the theologian, the apostle of France, the first bishop of Paris, and the monastery’s founder.

JOHN LOWDEN

Two-sided icon: (a) Mother of God Pafsolype with Ten Feast Scenes; (b) Crucifixion with Four Prophets

Early 14th century; third quarter of the 14th century
Egg tempera on wood, primed with gesso on linen,
gold leaf

120 x 88 cm

Constantinople (?)

Constantinople, Collection of the Ecumenical
Patriarchate, from the Church of the Holy Trinity, Halki

Literature: Paliouras 1989, p. 276, fig. 362; New York 2004,
no. 167, pp. 167–9 (A. Weyl Carr).

UNKNOWN TO scholarship until 2004, this majestic two-sided icon (see overleaf) has probably been in Constantinople since it was made. Its production is complex. On its obverse a venerated icon of the Mother of God has been set into a broad, later frame bearing ten feast scenes. An image of the Crucifixion flanked by four full-length prophets is on the reverse. Flush with the frame of the original icon the feast scenes overlap its borders, but an attentive eye can still discern the edges. Red medallions in the central icon's upper corners bear the golden sigla *M[ή]τηρ Θεοῦ* (Mother of God); two smaller medallions over Mary's left shoulder read *Ἰ[ησοῦς] Χ[ριστός]* (Jesus Christ); and a red band over her right shoulder displays in gold *Ἡ Παύσον Ἀύπν[ος]* ('The Mother of God 'cease sorrow'). The feast scenes, labelled in red, include in the upper frame the Annunciation, the Nativity and the Presentation; in the left frame the Baptism and the Raising of Lazarus; in the right the Transfiguration and the Entry into Jerusalem; in the lower frame the Descent into Hell, the Ascension and the Dormition of the Virgin. Red inscriptions on the reverse identify the Crucifixion, Mary and John. In the left frame Moses' scroll is inscribed *ὄψεσθαι τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν κρεμασμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου* ('see our life hanging before my eyes'), a version of Deuteronomy 28:66. Below him Malachi's scroll says *ὄψεσθαι εἰς ὃν ἐξέκέντησαν* ('see the one whom they have pierced'), a version of John 19:37 evoking Psalm 22:16. In the right frame a prophet (Habakkuk?) stands above Jeremiah with

a scroll reading *Δεῦτε καὶ ἐμβάλαμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον του* ('Come let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof'), a variant of Jeremiah 11:19.

Beautifully harmonious in composition and colour, the two phases of the icon's front are also integrated intellectually, the feasts aligned to echo the antithetic complexity of the central image. Lying like the Anapeson with the crossed legs of sacrifice, the Child nonetheless twists upward to frame his Mother's face with uplifted arms, juxtaposing passivity and passion, mortality and love. Haloless as in later icons of the Kardiotissa, but far more dramatically turned in three dimensions, his head is supported by his Mother in a rare and poignant gesture that focuses the image on the keen, up–down antithesis of their intimately aligned faces. The same up–down antithesis recurs throughout the themes of the framing feasts. The scenes in the four corners anchor the composition both in content and visually: as Mary receives Christ in the Annunciation, so she yields him in the Presentation; as Christ descends in the Descent into Hell, so he rises with his Mother in the Dormition. Similarly, on the icon's sides, as Christ descends to the depths in the Baptism, so he rises to transcendence in the Transfiguration; as he triumphs over Lazarus' death, so he descends to his own Passover in the Entry; as he descends in the Baptism, he raises in the scene of Lazarus; as he is exalted in the Transfiguration, he moves to his humiliation in the Entry. The most emphatic antithesis is on the central axis, where the flesh that Mary cradles in the central icon descends into time as the 'bread fit to eat' in the Nativity above, and ascends bodily into eternity in the Ascension below.

The Child's gesture framing Mary's face found its classic formulation in 15th-century Crete, where Angelos gave it the name Kardiotissa (cat. 31). The version here is more intricate and clearly earlier. An early 14th-century date for the central panel is suggested by: the forms of Mary's face and features, closely paralleling those of the Virgin in the Deesis at St Saviour in Chora; her expressive posture engulfed in voluminous garments, akin to the engulfing folds and focused feeling of the standing Virgin in the Chora parekklesion; and the Child's inflated drapery fold that falls to a lightly up-turned point, akin to many such folds in both mosaic and fresco there (Underwood 1966,

vol. 2, pp. 40, 121; vol. 3, pp. 372, 486).

The scenes of the frame, too, find many parallels in Cretan painting: the placement of Anna between Mary and Joseph in the Presentation, the triangular flash of light across the mandorla in the Transfiguration, the alignment of the ascending tree and descending head of Christ's donkey in the Entry, the composition of the Ascension, and the postures of Peter and Paul in the Dormition all recur in the feast scenes of Nikolaos Ritzos' Deesis icon in Sarajevo, identified by Vocotopoulos as displaying the classic Cretan repertoire of feasts (Weitzmann *et al.* 1982, p. 321; Vocotopoulos 2005a, p. 225). The style, by contrast, is more fluid and luminous, the richly bundled folds and iridescent, colouristic modelling resembling most closely the miniature of the Transfiguration in Paris, gr. 1242 from 1370–75 (New York 2004, no. 171, pp. 286–7 (J. Lowden)). A similar date is suggested by the close iconographic kinship of the Transfiguration to the icon of the same subject attributed to Theophanes the Greek, trained in Constantinople in the third quarter of the 14th century (Lazarev 1967, p. 399; Weitzmann *et al.* 1982, p. 267). The date is confirmed by the scene of the Crucifixion on the reverse of the icon, in which the bent knees and heavy torso of Christ and the upward-gazing posture of Mary resemble closely those of the superb late 14th-century Crucifixion icon from Monemvasia (Vocotopoulos 1995, pl. 130). The reframing of the initial, early 14th-century icon, then, seems to have occurred in the third quarter of the same century, most plausibly again in Constantinople. As such, its scenes may illuminate the likely sources of the iconography codified in the following century in Crete.

The epithet given to Mary in the central icon is an unusual, imperative form: 'cease sorrow!' There was a convent with this name in Constantinople; founded in the mid-14th century, it was renovated soon thereafter by a noblewoman named Martha Pyriana, as shown by a document of 1365 (Janin 1969, p. 217; I thank A.-M. Talbot for the reference). This icon may well have belonged to the convent of the Pafsolype, and been renovated at the time of the institution's restoration in the third quarter of the 14th century.

ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR





The Virgin Hodegetria

Late 14th century

Egg tempera on wood.

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

93 x 53 cm

Constantinople (?)

Crete, Meronas Amari in the Prefecture of Rethymnon, church of the Virgin

Conservation: M. Stephanakis,
13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities

Literature: Borboudakis 1988, pp 239–40; Iráklio 1993,
no.137, p.493 (M. Borboudakis); Cormack 1997a, fig.64.

DESPITE THE extensive damage to the paint surface of this icon, it is possible to reconstruct the representation of the Virgin Hodegetria in the established iconographic type of the palladium of Constantinople (Angelidi and Papamastorakis 2000; Pentcheva 2006, pp 109–43). The Virgin is depicted in a frontal pose, holding the Christ Child on her left. All that survives of either figure is the head and neck. Nevertheless, it is certain that Christ was shown blessing with his right hand and holding a rolled scroll in his left. In the upper corners of the representation are two red medallions with busts of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel, in veneration. Very little of the left medallion is preserved: only the red ground and the outline of the right side of the Archangel can, with difficulty, be discerned. About half of the right medallion, on its vertical axis, survives. Parts of the Archangel's halo, right wing and himation are discernible.

Preserved on the gold ground are the letters (ΟΔΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ) in red majuscule script, and the ligatures Θ(εο)Υ, from *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ* (Mother of God), as well as *Ι(ησοῦ)Χ(ριστοῦ)C* (Jesus Christ). The austere Virgin with the Christ Child and the two venerating Archangels render in the fullest way the palladium of Constantinople. This has been depicted in works that are believed to reproduce accurately the renowned icon in the Hodegon monastery, such as the miniature in the Hamilton Psalter 119 of c.1300, in the Kupferstichkabinett (inv.no.78 A 9) of the State Museums of Berlin (Athens 2000, no.54, pp 388–9 (N. Ševčenko); London 2009, no.177, p.423 (R. Cormack)). Nonetheless, in other representations of the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria the medallions with the Archangels are absent (see the British Museum icon with the Triumph of Orthodoxy (cat.4).

Even though the damage is severe, the quality of the painting is obvious. The oval face of the Virgin is finely worked and modelled with skill. The wide border on her maphorion,

with delicate gold striations, is softly draped. Very fine white highlights illuminate the volumes of her countenance.

The icon displays close iconographic and stylistic similarities to the figure of the Virgin Hodegetria in the central representation on the front side of the processional icon in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.15, pp 60–63; Athens 2000, no.64, pp 410–19 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou)). This icon, which is dated to the second half of the 14th century, is considered to be a Constantinopolitan work. An even closer iconographic and stylistic relationship is ascertained between the icon seen here and the two-sided icon with the Virgin Hodegetria on the front from the church of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple at Niochori, Rhodes, which is today kept in the Castello of the city of Rhodes (Athens 2000, no.66, pp 418–21 (A. Katsioti); Acheimastou-Potamianou 2009, pp 210–11). The facial features of the Virgin, with long thin nose, well-drawn eyebrows and tightly closed mouth with fleshy lips, are rendered in identical manner in both icons. Identical too in both works is the treatment of the folds on the wide border band of the Virgin's maphorion. The Rhodes icon is also considered to have been the product of a Constantinopolitan workshop and has been dated to the third quarter of the 14th century.

The icon shown here is kept on the icon-stand in the church of the Virgin at Meronas in the district of Amari, Crete. Identified in the 14th-century wall paintings decorating the church is the coat of arms of the Kallergis family, which had jurisdiction of this area after it was ceded to them by the Venetians (Maltezou 1988, pp 121–5). This led Manolis Borboudakis to the hypothesis that the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria was commissioned by members of the Kallergis family in Constantinople, in order to dedicate it in the church at Meronas (Borboudakis 1988, pp 239–40).

MARIA VASSILAKI



The Triumph of Orthodoxy

Second half of the 14th century

Egg-tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

39 x 31 cm

Constantinople (?)

London, British Museum, inv.no. M&LA 1988,

4-11.1 (acquired 1988)

Provenance: The icon was first recorded in a private collection in Sweden whose owner sold the panel at a sale at Sotheby's (London) on 15 February 1984. It was exhibited at the exhibition 'East Christian Art' at Bernheimer Fine Arts, London from 27 March to 1 May 1987. The British Museum purchased the panel in 1988.

Literature: Sotheby's 1984, lot no. 156; Petsopoulos 1987, pp. 49–50; Cormack 1989, pp. 93–4; London 1994, no. 140, pp. 129–30 (R. Cormack); Athens 2000, no. 32, p. 340 (R. Cormack); New York 2004, no. 78, pp. 154–5 (A. Weyl Carr); Kotoula 2006, pp. 121–8; London 2008, no. 57, p. 394 (R. Cormack).

THE GREEK TITLE written on this icon (only a very few letters are left) translates as 'The Triumph of Orthodoxy'. The icon celebrates the defeat of iconoclasm in 843 by representing the iconophile champions who fought on behalf of the holy icons. In the upper register on the left are the Empress Theodora and her infant son Michael III for whom she was the regent; on the right Patriarch Methodios and other clerics. On the lower register, the rank of saints contains mostly monks, and includes St Theodosia of Constantinople. She holds an icon of Christ, as do the two saints in the centre. In the upper register is a representation of the famous large icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria, which was believed to have been painted by the evangelist St Luke and to have survived in Constantinople at the Hodegon monastery, where it was displayed in regular processions (Pentcheva 2006, pp. 109–43). The miraculous icon of the Hodegetria is represented here on a decorated red-draped stand (the *podea*), with red curtains (the *encheirion* or *peplos*) drawn back to reveal it. The large heavy panel is supported by two winged figures with large red hats. The icon encapsulates the key arguments for the Orthodoxy concerning the use of icons: it purports to show authentic

images of the Virgin and Christ painted from life and believed to date from the beginning of Christianity, and it demonstrates visually the humanity of Christ after the incarnation, which was the theological justification for imaging Christ in human form. The festival for which this icon was intended for display was the Sunday of Orthodoxy, celebrated annually since 843 on the first Sunday in Lent.

The subject of this icon is not known in Byzantine art before the 14th century, but it was included as a standard topic in the 18th-century painter's manual of Mount Athos, the *Hermeneia* of Dionysios of Fournas, where it is listed as the Restoration of the Holy Images (Hetherington 1974, pp. 64–5). If it was a new subject in the 14th century, it may owe its genesis to the heated debates and church councils of the middle of that century over the definition of the Orthodox faith. This would set its most likely provenance in Constantinople where the formal discussions took place – at the Constantinopolitan Council of 1341 and those of 1347 and 1351. The *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, which was read aloud in church on the Sunday of Orthodoxy, was last updated in 1370, when the doctrines of Gregory Palamas were linked with the veneration of icons (New York 2004, p. 155). This text served in general as an intercessory prayer for the souls of the iconophile emperors and saints. At the same period in Constantinople, various writers were revising and highlighting the hagiography of several of the iconophile saints who appear on this icon (Kotoula 2006, pp. 125–8).

A second reason for placing its production in Constantinople in the second half of the 14th century is on the basis of stylistic comparisons – for example, with the illuminated manuscript, now in Moscow, of the Akathistos Hymn, Moscow Synodal Gr. 429, which was painted in the Hodegon monastery between 1355 and 1364; and with the icons made for Maria Angelina Komnene Doukaina Palaiologina (wife of the Despot of Ioannina, Thomas Preljubović) between 1373 and 1384, and presented to the Great Meteoron in Thessaly.

However, the arguments for placing the production of this exquisite icon in Constantinople are admittedly far from certain. An alternative place of painting has been suggested by Nano Chatzidakis in her study of an icon of the same subject in the Velimezis Collection in

Athens, which very clearly is a copy – and probably a direct copy – of the icon shown here (N. Chatzidakis 1998, no. 5, pp. 86–91). She argues on the grounds of iconographic features (the particular type of the Hodegetria and decorative features of the *podea* as well as on the vestments of the hierarchs) that the present icon was painted in Crete in the early 15th century, and that the Velimezis version is a copy, also from a Cretan workshop, dating from a hundred years or so later.

This attribution to Crete in the period immediately before the career of Angelos is not conclusive and requires further investigation. The iconographic features adduced do not seem to be limited to Crete alone, and stylistically the date may be some decades earlier than proposed by Nano Chatzidakis. It follows that the Velimezis icon too cannot be firmly attributed to Crete. The debate is important; on it hinges the idea that there was a 'school of Crete' with distinctive and exclusive features before the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. If this icon was painted in Crete and copied there, it might be treated as a possible direct influence on Angelos too. However, the world from which Angelos emerged to act as a major artist in the formation of the art of Crete was not yet polarised into 'schools' at the time of the painting of this icon. The Triumph of Orthodoxy is certainly by a major artist of the Late Byzantine period but his personality and orbit are yet to be established.

ROBIN CORMACK



The Nativity

First quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
65.7 x 63.4 x 4 cm
Constantinople or Crete
Athens, Reya Andreadis Collection

Literature: Garrison 1949, no.293, p.114; Lazarev 1967, pp.407–8, fig.574; Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.203–4, pl.AB'2; Charlier 1982, no.10 (N. Chatzidakis); London 1987, no.30, pp.166–7 (N. Chatzidakis); Baltayanni 1994, no.62, pp.226–8; London 1994, no.228, pp.213–15 (M. Vassilaki); Christie's 1995, no.305, pp.18–19; Drandaki 2002, no.4, pp.24–35; New York 2004, no.100, p.180 (A. Drandaki); Drandaki 2009, p.13, fig.3.

THIS ICON IS known in the international bibliography as the Volpi Nativity, after the name of its former owner. The panel, with a low integral wooden frame, is almost square – a shape wisely chosen at once to facilitate and to enhance the organisation of the composition around the central subject. The circular arrangement of the Nativity is emphasised here by the arc of heaven, which embraces the scene. Running along the blue band defining the celestial vault is the inscription ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΥΨΙC[ΤΟΙC ΘΕΩ] K[ΑΙ] ΕΠΙ ΓΗ[C] ΕΙΡ[ΗΝΗ] (Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace) (Luke 2:14), which is partially obscured by a later Latin inscription added in an old renovation of the work (Drandaki 2002, pp.24–6).

The reclining Virgin and the infant Christ form the focus of the representation, around which are developed six peripheral figural groups. The random shape of the central rock was the painter's vehicle for allocating and articulating the individual episodes of the composition. The same rocks are used as a subtle yet distinct boundary between the heavenly and the earthly world, with the angels on the upper side and the mortals on the lower. Christ, in the middle, belongs doctrinally and artistically to both worlds. Placed at the heart of the rock, the Infant is enclosed by the black cavern, the claustrophobic effect of which is compounded by the peculiar pointed projection of the ground on the right. The cavern combined with the shape of the built manger, which is reminiscent of a sarcophagus, allude

directly to the future entombment of the Incarnate Word (Köttsche-Breitenbruch 1986, pp.185–7; Maguire 1981, pp.96–101). Interposed between the six satellite episodes are vignettes from bucolic life, which remind us that this miraculous event took place in the real world which we ourselves inhabit.

The painter used an incised and painted preliminary design. The excellent quality of the pigments enhances the texture and the variety of colours. The result was even more splendid initially, when the dispersed gold brushstrokes that have now disappeared from the garments of the Magi, the trees and plants, the Virgin's palliase and the angels' wings were pristine. The figures have classic proportions and an easy naturalism in their calm movements. The faces have individualised features, shown to best advantage on the 14 angels in the representation. The flesh is modelled on an olive-green underlayer by purely painterly means. Successive translucent tones of ochre are mixed with green and red on the cheeks. The laminations unify the diverse pigments, thus enhancing the white highlights that complete the relief of the volumes. Particularly vigorous is the modelling of Salome's hands and the legs of the young shepherd conversing with the angel, where the freely applied long brushstrokes extravagantly render the strong muscles of those who work in the countryside and throb with life.

The general iconographic scheme of the representation is familiar in Byzantine art from the first half of the 14th century, such as in the mosaic of the Nativity in the church of the Holy Apostles at Thessaloniki and the Nativity cycle in the Chora monastery (Xynogopoulos 1953, pls 11–13; Stephan 1986, figs 53–9; Underwood 1966, vol.2, nos 102–5). However, the denser composition and the marginal (for the clarity of the subject) coexistence of many more figures in the icon discussed here are typical traits of trends developing in Palaiologan painting in the second half of the same century (Chatzidakis 1974b, pp.172ff; Demus 1975, pp.148–59; Gouma-Peterson 1984–5, pp.54–5; Panayotidi 1996, pp.351–62). In terms of both iconography and style the Volpi Nativity lies between the homonymous representations in the Peribleptos (c.1370–80) and the Pantanassa at Mystras (c.1430) (Mouriki 1991, pp.220–21; Aspra-

Vardavaki and Emmanuel 2005, pp.298–300, figs 137–8). Nonetheless, certain details indicate a more essential contact with contemporary western art, such as the naturalistic treatment of the animals and the realistic depiction of the water in the lake, bottom right (Drandaki 2002, pp.20–33). The stylistic traits of the icon are also seen in a series of high-quality wall-paintings and icons of the late 14th and early 15th centuries in Crete, linked with the attested arrival of Constantinopolitan painters on the island (Borboudakis 1991, pp.397–8, pls KΓ'–KE', fig.207β; New York 2009, nos 1–3, pp.40–44). The same traits are also distinguished in a series of portable icons of the same period, again ascribed to Constantinopolitan workshops (Tsigaridas 1998b, vol.2, pp.394–5, fig.332; Moscow 1991, no.52, p.231 (I. Soloviev)).

The above remarks demonstrate the association of the Volpi Nativity with the tradition of metropolitan Byzantine art from the turn of the 14th to the 15th century. Its particular characteristics point to an exceptional painter in the avant-garde of his age. The affinities with contemporary Italian painting, seen in details in the icon, are not surprising (Velmans 1972, pp.37–48; Djurić 1972, pp.288–91). Analogous elements in the monuments of Mystras have already been explained in relation to the complex social reality of the despotate (Zakythinis 1953, pp.4–45, 320ff; Mouriki 1991, pp.228–31). It is not unreasonable to assume the existence of a comparable osmosis in Constantinople, where close-knit communities of western merchants had been residing for centuries; mixed marriages with spouses from the aristocracy of the West were a common phenomenon in imperial circles (Laiou 1972, mainly pp.57–76, 101–14, 260–77; Origone 1992, pp.203–16, 251ff; Drandaki 2009, pp.11–13). Just as the work could have been executed in one of the remaining artistic centres of Byzantium, equally plausible is the hypothesis that it was painted by a Constantinopolitan artist of the diaspora. Whatever the case, the quality of the painting points to a highly demanding and aesthetically discerning patron, sensitive to the delicate theological nuances of the iconography.

ANASTASIA DRANDAKI



The Crucifixion

First quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood, primed with gesso, gold leaf

35 x 26.5 x 2 cm

Crete (?)

Patmos, Monastery of the Annunciation

Conservation: Ph. Zachariou, 1960

Literature: Chatzidakis 1985, no.6, pp 52–4, pls 6, 8;

Chatzidakis 1988, pp. 110–11, pl. 9; Vocotopoulos 1995, no.143, p.222.

THIS MANY FIGURED representation of the Crucifixion is of an unusual narrative iconographic type. At the centre of the composition is the conspicuously large figure of Christ on the Cross, his body describing a pronounced curve. On either side of the Cross, in small scale, are two lamenting angels flying high, only one of which is preserved. The figures are arranged into two asymmetrical groups, below the Crucified Christ. Left is the group of the four myrrh-bearing women who console the Virgin, to the fore. Tall and slender in relation to the other figures, she stands in silent complicity with St John, the two exchanging restrained gestures of sorrow and desolation. John, at a higher level, bows slightly, accompanying the Theotokos in her lament. The group on the right is rendered with the same miniaturist attention to detail and relative uniformity in the faces. It is arrayed behind the Centurion, who is flanked by the Roman holding the lance, and two Jews, one of whom twists round towards Christ, gesticulating animatedly. The Centurion, central figure of the group, holds a shield and turns towards the Cross, his hand slightly raised. At the foot of the conventionally rendered rocks of Calvary three soldiers divide the garments of the Lord. Across the background, against the timeless golden ground of the composition, is the walled city of Jerusalem with its tall polygonal towers. Towards the top of the icon is the inscription in red majuscule letters: [H CTAY]PΩCIC (The Crucifixion). Inscribed in gold lettering on the *deltos* of the Cross is: 'ο βασιλεὺς της δόξης' (The King of Glory), and on the horizontal arm of the Cross the abbreviations IC XC (Jesus Christ).

The attenuated, narrow-shouldered figures appear to hover in space. A few discreet high-

lights on the wheaten-coloured flesh of the small round faces bring out their delicate features. The garments fall in a loose but ordered manner, in broad bright planes. The red trickles of Christ's blood, the red shoes of the Virgin, the sword of the Centurion and the himation of the soldier dividing up Christ's clothes impart a vivid tone to the otherwise warm colour contrasts, in subtle shades of ochre, grey and brown. Light and airy gold striations describe the drapery on the garments, and pseudo-Kufic ornaments embellish the hems of the robes of the two Jews. Though emotionally charged, the scene lacks tension, while austerity of expression and muted tones predominate. These are traits associated with works in the Late Palaiologan tradition, which either belong to the art of Constantinople or reflect its stylistic trends.

The narrative type of the Crucifixion is encountered in Palaiologan times, but occurs particularly in Cretan painting, where it is reproduced in icons, such as the late 15th-century Crucifixion in the church of the Virgin at Lithines in Crete (Iraklion 1993, no.145, pp 500–501 (M. Borboudakis)), as well as in wall paintings, such as in the *katholika* of the Varlaam monastery at Meteora and the Xenophontos monastery on Mount Athos (Chatzidakis 1985, p.54, n.14). An icon of the Dormition of the Virgin, of similar dimensions and also in Patmos, is considered to be by the same painter and perhaps part of the same Dodekaorton series, on the basis of the overt homogeneity in the typological as well as formal details (Chatzidakis 1985, pp 52–6).

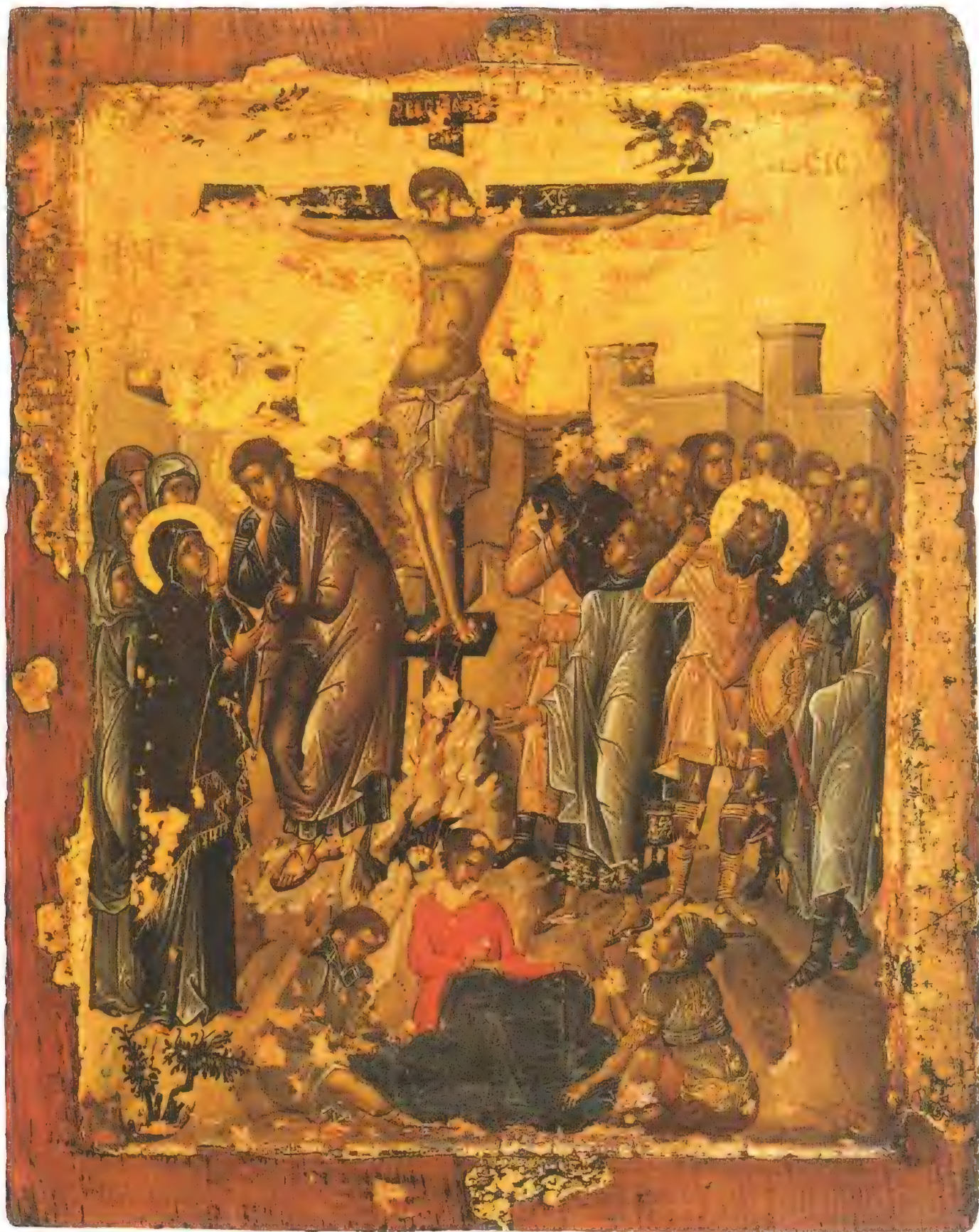
The present icon is linked in iconography and style with an icon of the same subject and almost the same dimensions in the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. The provenance of the latter is Mount Athos, and although it has been dated in diverse ways from the first half of the 14th into the 15th century (Iraklion 1993, no.67, p.418 (O. Korina)), in general outline it appears to be contemporary to the icon discussed here. There are specific details in common in the multi-figured iconographic type, which include the position of St John at the Virgin's side, the modelling of the flesh and the highlights on the sunburnt faces. The Moscow icon is inferior, however, in the choice of coloration, the spatial organisation and the dramatic poses, together with the

extravagant characteristics of some of the figures seen in the icon shown here.

The closest parallel for the icon seems to be the Crucifixion on the reliquary of Cardinal Bessarion, now in the Gallerie dell'Accademia in Venice, drawing inspiration from common models (New York 2004, no.325, pp 540–41 with earlier bibliography (M. Georgopoulou)). It is broadly dated to the late 14th century, although prevailing views place it in the mid-15th (Lazarev 1967, p.408; Pollacco 1994, pp 369–78). It shares the preference for the narrative depiction, with an asymmetrical distribution of the two groups, even though St John stands on the other side of the Cross. Nonetheless, the icons differ, since in the vertical development of the scene on the reliquary the dramatic element is lost, while the treatment of the setting appears to be more decorative and the palette less sombre.

The absence of dated works from the first quarter of the 15th century, the period to which the Crucifixion seems to belong, makes its more precise classification difficult. A pious work of a sensitive artist, it belongs to an era in which the overwhelming majority of icons are still unsigned. With a deep knowledge of the technique he represents, the painter continues the long tradition of 14th-century icons. The dark under-layer of the flesh, with economical yet effective use of highlights, and other secondary devices such as the decorative use of pseudo-Kufic ornaments, are traits particularly beloved in Cretan painting, especially in the works of Angelos and, a little later, of Andreas Ritzos. These characteristics led to an excellent workshop in an important artistic centre producing works for a demanding clientele. This centre could well be Venetian-held Crete, at that time receiving distinguished artists (Cattapan 1968, pp 37–8; Cattapan 1972, pp 204–5; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009) whose works unfortunately are not known. But even if this icon originates from Constantinople or from an artist who studied there and settled in Crete, it is certainly an idiom of a stylistic koine language that developed in the Byzantine capital.

ANGELIKI KATSIOTI





The Dormition of the Virgin with Scenes from her Life and Saints

Early 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

54.3 x 39 x 8 cm

Constantinople (?)

Athens, Canellopoulos Museum, inv.no.E 122

Literature: Athens 1964, no.197, p.212 (A. Xyngopoulos); Brouskari 1985, pp 119–21; Florence 1986, no.40, p.80, pl.40 (N. Chatzidakis); London 1987, no.23, pp 161–2, pl.23 (N. Chatzidakis); Baltimore 1988, no.42, pp 202–03, pl.42 (N. Chatzidakis); Vocotopoulos 1995, no.142, pp 221–2, fig.142; N. Chatzidakis and Scampavias 2007, pp 114–18 (N. Chatzidakis); London 2008, no.243, p.441 (C. Scampavias).

THE REPRESENTATION of the Dormition of the Virgin occupies the centre of the panel. The dead Virgin – wearing a dark blue chiton and a deep red maphorion – lies on a bed with slightly raised pillow end. Her arms are crossed. Her head rests on a dark blue pillow, and she is covered by two bedspreads in different tones of red with wide gold-woven borders and embroideries. In front, a gold candlestick with lighted candle stands on a pedestal. Crowded around the bed is the choir of Apostles, six on each side. In their midst are three hierarchs, whom tradition has it were present 'borne in clouds' at the Dormition of the Virgin. The eldest of these (St Dionysios the Areopagite) holds an open book at the level of the Virgin's head. At top and bottom of the bed are the leading Apostles: Peter censing at the Virgin's head, Paul bowing to embrace her feet. Behind, St John the Theologian leans forward and stretches out his left hand to her knees. The other Apostles, partly obscured by one another, watch with expressions and gestures of sorrow.

At the centre, behind the bed, stands Christ, in frontal pose, within a greyish-blue mandorla. In his hands, covered by his gold-striated himation, he holds the Virgin's soul in the form of a swaddled babe. Painted in grisaille inside the mandorla are four angels; the first two hold lighted candles. Crowning the top of the mandorla is a polychrome, six-winged seraph, continuing and emphasising the vertical axis

formed by the slender body of Christ, in counterpoint to the horizontal bed.

In the background, left and right, are two ochre multistorey buildings with diverse balconies and openings, joined together by one rectilinear and one curvilinear wall, also in ochre, with a tree at each wall juncture. The walls of the buildings are adorned with busts in medallions, painted in grisaille to convey the relief decoration. Similar medallions with heads are encountered from the second half of the 14th century, as in the Dormition of the Virgin in the mosaic diptych in Florence (Vocotopoulos 1995, fig.86), but this subject was widely disseminated during the Late Palaiologan period (Mouriki 1980–81). However, the two smaller monochrome figures protruding above the straight wall cannot be considered as parts of relief decoration – they are not just heads but figures to the waist, they are not in medallions or any other kind of frame, and their gestures of sorrow and facial expressions show that they participate in the events. Presumably the painter opted for grisaille and the smaller scale to convey the perspective depth of the scene.

Above Christ, two angels in smaller scale swoop to receive the Virgin's soul, their hands covered as a token of respect. Higher up, on the same vertical axis, are the wide-open Gates of Heaven, between which are another two venerating angels. On the gold ground, in red capital letters, is the inscription: *Η ΚΟΙΜΗCΙC//ΤΗC Θ(ΕΟΤ)ΚΟΥ* (The Dormition of the Virgin).

The representation follows an iconographic type established in Constantinople in the early 14th century, the best-known example of which is the mosaic above the entrance to the nave of the Chora monastery (Underwood 1966, vol.2, pl.320). It belongs to a group whose principal characteristics are the seraph at the top of the mandorla, the contrapposto with which Christ holds the Virgin's soul and the curved wall connecting the buildings in the background. Apart from the general arrangement of the composition, other common traits between the present icon and the Chora mosaic are the absence of the episode with Jephonias and the pose of Peter; differences are observed in the pose of Paul, the position of John and the form of the buildings.

This iconographic type of the Dormition enjoyed wide diffusion in the 14th and 15th

centuries. It is found in Cretan monumental painting (Kalokyris 1973, fig.55) and icons, such as those in the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice (Chatzidakis 1962, nos 15, 16) and on the frame of the composite icon by Nikolaos Ritzos in Sarajevo (Vocotopoulos 1995, figs 144, 155; Vocotopoulos 2005a, fig.11). Indeed, on the last work, dated c.1500, the two trees beside the buildings in the background are repeated identically.

Represented in each of the four corners of the unusually wide integral frame is a scene from the early life of the Virgin, identified by inscriptions in red majuscule letters on the ground: (1) The Embrace of Saints Joachim and Anne; (2) The Birth of the Virgin; (3) The Blessing by the Priests; and (4) The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. All the scenes faithfully reproduce Constantinopolitan iconographic models of the 14th century (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964–5, pp 172–81).

Between the scenes are four hymnographers, in the habit of high-ranking monks, holding open scrolls with excerpts from the hymns chanted at the matins service (*Orthros*) on 15 August, the feast day of the Dormition. On the vertical sides are the full-bodied figures of Saints Cosmas Maioumas and John of Damascus, who because of their Syriac origin wear a turban instead of a cowl. Tucked under the left armpit of each is a 'pen-case' with attached inkwell, in which Cosmas dips his reed pen, while John of Damascus writes in the scroll hanging in front of him from an S-shaped hook. On the horizontal sides are St Joseph (above) and St Theophanes Graptos (below). The framing of the Dormition of the Virgin with hymnographers, usually in large scale with open inscribed scrolls, appears for the first time in the 12th century at Bačkovó (Grabar 1928, pp 79–80, pl.IV) and subsequently in a whole series of 13th- and 14th-century monuments, such as the churches of Bojana in Sofia, of the Holy Apostles at Thessaloniki and of Christ at Veria.

The icon is a high-quality work by an accomplished painter with considerable theological education. Its refined style dates it to the early 15th century and heralds Cretan icons of the Dormition, such as the one by Andreas Ritzos in Turin (cat.50).

CONSTANTINOS SCAMPAVIAS

The Prayer in Gethsemane

c.1400

Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
50 x 42.5 x 2 cm

Crete, Candia

Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, inv. no. 332

Literature: Kondakov 1929, 1931, vol.2, pl.129, vol.3,
p.163; Angiolini-Martinelli 1984, no.3, pp.35–42,
fig. on p.34 and pl. on p.9; Vassilaki 1991a.

THIS ICON REPRESENTS three episodes of Christ's Prayer in the garden of Gethsemane, as described in the Gospel of St Luke (22:39–46). In the first episode, top left, the standing Christ turns left to converse with his Father who appears in bust within the heavens. Christ's words are written in majuscule letters in the Latin inscription: '*PATER SIVIS TRANSFER CALICEM/ISTUM ISTUM AME VERUNATEM/EN NON MEA VOLUNTAS SEDTUAFIAT*' ('Father, if it is Your will, remove this cup from me; nevertheless not my will, but Yours, be done') (Luke 22:42). In the second episode, in the right part of the upper zone, Christ kneels and prays with his head turned towards the angel, who appears from heaven holding a chalice. In the third episode, which occupies the entire lower surface of the icon, Christ chastises the Apostle Peter for his tardiness, while all the other disciples sleep deeply.

The Prayer in Gethsemane belongs to the iconographic cycle of the Passion of Christ and indeed to its extended version, as this was elaborated in monumental art particularly from the late 13th and throughout the 14th century (see for example the wall paintings in the church of the Protaton, c.1290 – Tsigaridas 2003, pp.72–3; in the exonarthex of the katholikon of the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos, 1312 – Tsigaridas 1998a, fig.219; in the church of the Peribleptos at Ohrid, 1295 – Demus 1975, fig.29). The Prayer in Gethsemane is not one of the Dodekaorton scenes, nor is it suitable for private devotions. Consequently it did not constitute an autonomous composition destined for portable icons. The

earliest known example in which the Prayer in Gethsemane is transformed into an autonomous composition for a portable icon is the panel shown here, which is placed by its iconographic elements in the Late Byzantine period, c.1400. However, other elements, such as the rendering of God in human form and the chalice held by the angel, are borrowings from Italian art (for example, in the triptych by Andrea Vanni, c.1385, in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington D.C., the rendering of God in human form is encountered in the scene of the Descent into Hell and the chalice held by the angel in the scene of the Prayer of Gethsemane – Berenson 1980², fig.268). This, in conjunction with the Latin inscription which gives the extract from St Luke's Gospel, permits the hypothesis that the icon was created in an artistic milieu, in which the Late Byzantine painting tradition coexisted with the western. These preconditions lead easily to Venetian-held Crete as the place of production for the icon. This hypothesis is further reinforced by the stylistic similarities between the icon and painted churches of the late 14th and the early 15th centuries in Crete, such as the Dormition of the Virgin at Sklaverochori, Pediada (Borboudakis 1991, pp.375–98, pls. KΔ', KE'a).

This icon displays even closer iconographic and stylistic relations to two miniatures in the manuscript W.335, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, in which Federigo da Venezia's commentary on the Revelation of St John is copied (New York 2004, no.317, pp.526–7 (G. Paprulov)). According to its colophon, the codex was written and illuminated in Candia, Crete, in 1415. Both the icon and the miniatures in the Baltimore manuscript draw a host of iconographic elements and stylistic traits from the mosaics and wall paintings of the Chora monastery (c.1315–20), Constantinople. For example, the icon's figure of Matthew sleeping in the first row of disciples faithfully follows the representations of slumbering Joseph and James in the Chora monastery (Underwood 1966, vol.2, pls.152, 153, vol.3, pls.438, 439), and this belies direct knowledge of and contact with the particular monument. This in combination with the information that a significant number of Constantinopolitan painters transferred the centre of their artistic creation to Candia in Crete, already from the

closing decades of the 14th century (Cattapan 1968, 35, 37–8, 41–2; Cattapan 1972, pp.204, 218–20; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009), generates the hypothesis that both works can be attributed to an artist from the Byzantine capital, now working in the Cretan capital.

The painter of the icon created a balanced composition in which each of the episodes in the event occupies the requisite space. The rocky landscape of the Mount of Olives covers virtually the entire background of the composition and the sparse vegetation is rendered in a particularly successful miniaturist manner. The disciples sleep with eyes tightly shut, in poses of absolute immobility. Only one of them (James?), in the middle of the front row, has his eyes open and looks at the viewer. There is incredible variety in the way each disciple is abandoned to sleep, without repetition of poses. The bodies, enveloped by richly draped himatia, acquire volume.

The mistakes observed in the Latin inscription of the icon (arbitrary linking and separating of words, erroneous words, the same word written twice) perhaps attest that the painter did not know Latin but copied the text mechanically (Vassilaki 1991a, p.68). Thus, this inscription might on the one hand lead to a Veneto-Cretan patron but the manner of rendering on the other points to a painter with Greek education.

Noteworthy is the fact that although the Prayer in Gethsemane was not a common subject in the genre of portable icons, it occurs in another three Cretan icons: in the Art Gallery of Christ Church College, Oxford, late 15th century (Vassilaki 1991a, p.75, pl.22); in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (Vassilaki 1991a, p.75, pl.23), which has been attributed to Ioannes Permeniates and can be dated to the first half of the 16th century (N. Chatzidakis 1992, p.735, pl.397β); and in a 17th-century tondo icon bearing the forged signature of the Cretan painter Victor (Vassilaki 1991a, p.75, pl.24).

MARIA VASSILAKI





The Deesis

c.1400

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with linen on gesso, gold leaf

88.5 x 11.5 cm

Constantinople (?) or Crete (?)

Crete, Hodegetria monastery, district of Kainourio

Conservation: M. Stephanakis, Z. Liagoura-Stephanaki,
13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

Literature: Iráklion 1993, no.116, pp.472–3

(M. Borboudakis); Baltoyanni 2003, no.8, pp.59–60;

Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p.722, fig.7

THIS REPRESENTATION of the Deesis comprises the three figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist. Christ is shown standing in frontal pose in the middle of the composition, between the Virgin and St John. This scheme is detached from the wider theme of the Last Judgement and becomes an independent composition from an early date (Cutler 1987; Walter 1968). Christ blesses with his right hand and holds a closed Gospel book with gem-studded binding in his left. He stands on a footstool. The Virgin and St John the Baptist, both in three-quarter turn, supplicate towards Christ, with their arms bent at the elbows and their heads turned slightly forwards. The tall, slender bodies of the three figures combined with their restrained gestures and movements enhance the harmonic analogies of the composition.

The painter's palette shows a preference for dark tones: the chiton of Christ and the maphorion of the Virgin are dark red–purple. The himation of Christ and that of the Baptist are dark blue. The only exceptions in this domination of dark colours are the chiton of John and the footstool of Christ, which are of ochre hue, as well as the shoes of the Virgin, which are red.

The iconography of this panel refers to the wall decoration of Palaiologan monuments in Constantinople, such as the Chora monastery (c.1315–20) and the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos monastery (c.1305–10). Specifically, the figure of the Virgin is comparable to the Virgin in the north conch of the sanctuary in the Pammakaristos (Belting, Mango and Mouriki 1978, pl.IV) and the sup-

plicating Virgin from the representation of Christ Chalkites, in the esonarthex of the Chora monastery (Underwood 1966, vol.2, pl.38). The iconography of St John the Baptist is virtually identical to that in the south conch of the sanctuary of the Pammakaristos parekklesion (Belting, Mango and Mouriki 1978, pl.III; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p.722, fig.8). Lastly, the figure of Christ recalls the representation of Christ Chalkites in the Chora monastery, although the latter does not hold a Gospel book.

The figure of Christ – with the kempt hair, the soft modelling of the face and especially the fine and discreet highlights on the projecting parts of the face, and the way in which the fingers of the right hand are joined in blessing – permits the association of the present icon with icons of Christ Pantokrator, such as that from the Pantokrator monastery on Mount Athos, today in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, which is dated with relative precision to 1363 (London 2000, no.B125, pp.148–50 (Y. Piatnitsky); Papamastorakis 1998, pp.43–4), as well as that kept today in the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Museum of Mytilene and dated to around 1370–80 (Acheinastou-Potamianou 2007; London 2009, no.241, p.441 (M. Vassilaki)). It cannot be argued for certain that these two particular icons are products of Constantinopolitan workshops or whether they are linked with the artistic centre of Thessaloniki. It is known that at least in the early decades of the 14th century the close stylistic relationship between monuments such as the Chora monastery and the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki allows us to seek a common artistic language associated with both centres, that of the capital and that of the co-capital of Byzantium.

The icon of the Deesis from the Hodegetria monastery is considered to be the work of a Constantinopolitan painter resident in Candia (Iráklion 1993, p.473 (M. Borboudakis); Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009, p.722). As is well known, the activity of these painters, who left Constantinople and settled in Venetian-held Candia, is attested in documents in the Venetian archives but is not confirmed – through their signature – by any work, either of monumental art or of the painting of portable icons. Only hypotheses can be proposed, based usually on the high quality of certain works,

as well as on their iconographic and stylistic affinity to Constantinopolitan works (Vassilaki 1991, reprint in Vassilaki 2009, no.10; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009; see also chapter 5 in the present catalogue).

The variation of Christ standing, instead of enthroned, in the Deesis composition was of rather limited dissemination in the work of Cretan painters, as the surviving examples show. Perhaps the fact that the painter Angelos chose the iconographic scheme of the Deesis with Christ enthroned in the icons that carry his signature (cats 36, 46) and which were to be a common topos for the coming generations of Cretan painters (see for example the icon by Nikolaos Tzafouris, cat.56), played a decisive role in this. Even so, it is obvious that Angelos was taught the art of painting from works such as the icon in the Hodegetria monastery.

MARIA VASSILAKI

The Evangelist Luke Painting the Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria

Early 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

26.4 x 18.3 x 0.7 cm

Constantinople or Crete

Recklinghausen, Icon Museum, inv.no.424

Conservation: I. Bentshev, 2002.

Literature: Hausteint-Bartsch 2000; Kazanaki-Lappa 2000, pp 29–30; Abel and Moore 2002, p.26.

THE TRADITION that Luke the Evangelist painted the first icon of the Virgin is first mentioned in the work *Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων εἰκό- νων προσκυνήσεως* ('On the veneration of the holy icons'), (PG 97, col.1304), attributed to Andrew of Crete (8th century). The saint must have written this text, based on earlier traditions, prior to the onset of iconoclasm, when traditions referring to the existence of authentic portraits of Christ and the Virgin played a seminal role in the legitimisation of the cult of icons. The text relates that Luke himself painted images of Christ and the Virgin which were kept in Rome and Jerusalem (Bacci 1998, pp 79–89; Bacci 2000a, p.80; Bacci 2000b, pp 103–8). Icons said to have been painted by Luke first appeared in the 11th century in Constantinople and Rome (Bacci 2000a, p.82), but the icon of the Virgin kept in the Hodegon monastery is only attributed to the Evangelist in the text of an anonymous English traveller to Constantinople in the late 11th century. In this particular icon, the palladium of the Byzantine capital, the Virgin held Christ in frontal pose in her left hand, while pointing towards him with her right (Angelidi and Papa-mastorakis 2000, p.377).

The earliest representation of Luke painting the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria is on folio 87v of the 13th-century Gospel book cod.233, in the monastery of St Catherine in Sinai (Athens 2000, no.55, pp 390–91 (B. Pentcheva)). The subject is also seen in a wall painting of the mid-14th century at the Mateić monastery (Petković 1934, pl.CXLIV; Hamann-Mac Lean 1976, p.108, drawing on p.107. For the dating

of the wall paintings see Dimitrova 2001, p.350; Dimitrova 2002, pp 262–7). The panel in the icon shown here is the earliest known representation in portable icons.

Luke sits on a wooden, gold-ornamented throne and adds the final brushstrokes to the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, which is turned towards the viewer and set on a tripod easel. In his left hand he holds a small shell containing pigment, probably gold. On the deep-green foreground are a half-open paint-box on a small round base, a tray of shells for mixing pigments, and a goblet of water for washing paintbrushes. Another two brushes rest in holes on the leg of the easel. The name of the saint, Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΛΟΥΚΑΣ, is inscribed in red majuscule letters on the gold ground of the icon.

This icon was first presented in 1969 in the Haus der Kunst, Munich, at the exhibition 'Icons: 13th–19th century', organised by Heinz Skrobucha, keeper of the Icon Museum, Recklinghausen. At that time Skrobucha purchased the icon for the Recklinghausen collection. In 1998 I discovered that this small panel was part of a triptych or polyptych, on which there were at least eight representations. Two panels of the ensemble were bought at auction in Lucerne, in 1963, by an icon dealer from Munich. For commercial reasons each individual representation was detached (Hausteint-Bartsch 2000). Originally each leaf carried two representations or images of saints, in two successive zones, on both front and back, and the polyptych was about 53 centimetres high. Another four icons presented in the Munich exhibition and featured in its catalogue belonged to this ensemble: the Baptism, the Descent into Hell, St Nicholas, and the Evangelist John with Prochoros. This last icon, illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, displays such striking stylistic similarities to the icon shown here that there is no doubt that it is by the same painter. The icon of St Nicholas enthroned, with two scenes from his life in the upper corners, was chosen for the cover of the catalogue (*Katalog der Herbstausstellung* 1970, no.2). Of the other icons in the ensemble, those of the Baptism and the Descent into Hell can be identified in photographs in the Archive of the Icon Museum, Recklinghausen, but their present whereabouts are unknown.

From correspondence in early 1965 between Thomas Grochowiak, Director of the Recklinghausen Museums, and icon dealer Ilas Neufert,

it emerges that in 1964 Neufert sold another icon from the same ensemble to the National Museum in Stockholm – a Crucifixion 'with pronounced Venetian influences' (cat.11). The correspondence further reveals that the icon belonged initially to two double-sided leaves, which were dismembered into eight autonomous panels. From the archival material in the National Museum of Stockholm, which Ulf Abel made available, I learnt that the two double-sided leaves were auctioned on 21 June 1963 by the Galerie Fischer in Lucerne. In addition to the known representations, there is reference in the auction catalogue to Saints George and Merkourios, and Prophets David and Solomon, both depicted in pairs. These two works are today in the Marianna Latsis Collection in Athens (cats 12, 13). According to the auction catalogue, the representations were in the following order: on the inside of the left leaf were the Crucifixion, above, and St Nicholas, below, while on the right leaf were, correspondingly, the Descent into Hell and the Baptism. On the outside of the left leaf had been depicted the Evangelist Luke painting the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, above, and Saints George and Merkourios, below, while on the right had been the Evangelist John and Prochoros, above, and the Prophets David and Solomon below. In all probability the work included at least another two leaves, with images of the Evangelists Matthew and Mark, and other scenes from the Dodekaorton. However, the question of the original arrangement and size of the polyptych remains open. All the representations display strong affinity with Palaiologan models, both in style (slim figures, light highlights and attention to detail), and in iconography (Hausteint-Bartsch 2000, pp 17–25). Moreover, this specific form of polyptych, with scenes positioned one above the other, is encountered exclusively in works of the Late Byzantine period.

These features indicate that the icon was not executed in the second half of the 16th century, as had been argued previously (Grochowiak 1972, p.61; Gerhard 1957, p.80, pl.I on p.2; Skrobucha 1981, no.334), but should be dated to the early 15th.

EVA HAUSTEINT-BARTSCH





The Crucifixion

Early 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

25 x 18.5 x 1 cm

Constantinople or Crete

Stockholm, National Museum, inv. no. NMI 292

Provenance: acquired by the National Museum in 1964 from the Ilas Neufert Gallery, Munich.

Conservation: Doerner Institute, Munich 1963–4. Panel split and mounted on new panel at the National Museum, Stockholm, 1965.

Literature: Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, 1963, sale June 21, lot no. 1258; Bentschev and Hausteин-Bartsch 2000, pp. 40–42; Hausteин-Bartsch 2000; Kazanaki-Lappa 2000; Abel and Moore 2002, no. 2, pp. 25–6.

THIS MULTI-FIGURED, extended version of the Crucifixion, including figures such as officers on horseback, mourning women, and Mary Magdalene at the foot of the cross, has an important literary source in the detailed description of the Passion in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* from c. 1300 by Pseudo Bonaventura (Roth 1967). In Italy this iconography can be found from the early 14th century onwards. The first dated example on Crete is a fresco from 1360 in Agia Pelagia of Viannos (Velmans 2005, p. 228, n. 20). It was with reference to a late version of this iconography, an icon painted in the second half of the 15th century by the Cretan painter Andreas Pavias (National Gallery Athens, inv. no. 144, New York 2009, no. 17, p. 64 (M. Kazanaki-Lappa)), that this icon was first dated to the 16th century. However, as has been shown by Eva Hausteин-Bartsch, the style of the painting – in particular the elegance and refinement of the draughtsmanship and colour, as well as the setting (see below) – points to a period before rather than after that of Andreas Pavias, a period more related to the early 15th century (Hausteин-Bartsch 2000, p. 21).

When offering this icon for sale in 1964, Ilas Neufert of Munich informed the Stockholm National Museum that it had originally been part of a larger composition – namely two icon leaves painted on both sides, acquired at an auction at Galerie Fischer in Lucerne (21 June 1963, lot no. 1258), and afterwards partitioned and split up. Referring to the auction catalogue entry, he states that ‘all eight depictions emanate from the four sides of two icon leaves, which in turn were fragments of a triptych or an altar’ (Abel and Moore 2002, p. 26).

Thus each leaf had four individual representations, two on the outside and two on the inside, one on top of the other. The eight themes comprised three Christological scenes – the Baptism of Christ, the Crucifixion and the Descent into Hell – together with the Prophets David and Solomon, St John and Prochoros, St Nicholas enthroned, the Evangelist Luke Painting the Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, and Saints George and Merkourios. Each individual leaf measured 52 by 18.5 centimetres. The technical processing – that is, the partition and division – had at Neufert’s request been done at the Doerner Institute in Munich (Abel and Moore 2002, p. 26). In letters to the National Museum dated 2 October and 18 November 1964, M. Chatzidakis, having earlier been shown several of the divided icons, was sceptical regarding their authenticity. This was mainly for technical reasons – the manipulation of the original panel – but also on account of the disparity of the style and subjects of the two leaves (Abel and Moore 2002, p. 26). The stylistic difference could possibly be put down to this altarpiece having consisted of more units, painted by several hands.

Of the eight icons which made up the original ensemble, three others have been traced in addition to the one seen here, namely: the Evangelist Luke Painting the Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (cat. 10) in the Icon Museum, Recklinghausen; and Saints George and Merkourios (cat. 12) and the Prophets David and Solomon (cat. 13), both of which are in the Marianna Latsis Collection, Athens (Kazanaki-Lappa 2000).

ULF ABEL

St George and St Merkourios

Early 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

26.2 x 18.9 cm

Candia, Crete (?)

Athens, Marianna Latsis Collection

Conservation: L. Morocco, London

Literature: London 1996, no.2, pp 22–9 (M. Kazanaki-Lappa); Vocotopoulos 1996, pp 138–9, fig.2; Monaco 1998, no.2 (M. Kazanaki-Lappa); Kazanaki-Lappa 2000, pp 29–38, pls 24, 29–30; Hausteine-Bartsch 2000, pp 11–28, fig.20; New York 2009, no.5, p.46 (M. Kazanaki-Lappa)

THIS SMALL ICON of St George slaying the dragon and St Merkourios killing Julian the Apostate belongs, with seven others, to a composite work that is particularly important for the study of icon painting in Crete in the early 15th century (Hausteine-Bartsch 2000, pp 11–28, pls 12–23). It depicts the two best-known miracles of the saints: the dragon-slaying, which is introduced into *Vitae* of St George from the 11th century, and the lesser-known miracle of the killing of Julian by St Merkourios, which chroniclers narrate in the 6th century, linking the death of the idolatrous emperor with the Cappadocian saint through a vision or a prayer of Basil the Great (Binon 1937, pp 11–29). The earliest representations of these two miracles date from the 11th and the 9th century respectively, and in them the saints are on horseback. Reproduced here, however, is the type of the standing triumphant soldier-saint stepping upon the dragon or the defeated foe, known in Byzantine art since at least the 13th century, from representations of St Theodore and of St Demetrios. In terms of the message of this icon, the reason for presenting the two miracles together should be sought in their symbolism. The dragon-slaying St George embodies a fundamental idea of the Christian faith, the triumph of Good over Evil, while St Merkourios trampling on the emperor Julian epitomises the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

The two youthful soldier-saints stand anti-

thetically against the gold ground in vigorous poses. Each saint is identified by an inscription in majuscules above the head: *O AI[IOC] ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩC* (St George), *O AI[IOC] ΜΕΡΚΟΥΡΙΩC* (St Merkourios). St George, his right hand raised and his head sharply inclined, plunges his spear into the open mouth of the winged dragon lying at his feet – a depiction closer to the narratives of the miracle, in which it is said that the saint was on foot when he slew the monster. Next to him, St Merkourios, with an expansive gesture of the arm which follows the movement of his head, thrusts his spear into the chest of a middle-aged man in imperial raiment, lying supine at his feet – a representation that illustrates Julian's vision as narrated by Malalas (*PG* 97, cols 496–7). The very bright rocky landscape in which the scenes are set is formed by wide, flat, off-white rocks and enlivened by thin shoots, a schematic tree in the right corner and the dark mouth of the dragon's lair on the left. The two saints are in military attire: metal breastplate with repoussé rinceaux and geometric ornaments, short tunic of textile or chain mail, leggings decorated with appliqué pseudo-Kufic motifs, high leather boots, a mantle tied with a knot on the chest. The swords (girt at the waist with scarlet cord), the elegant little shields passed over the left arm with baldrics, and the long spears complete their accoutrements. The slender figures of the young warrior saints, whose origins should be sought in Late Palaiologan art, have been enriched with borrowings from 14th-century Venetian painting, as comparison with works by Paolo Veneziano reveals (Kazanaki-Lappa 2000, p.32, pls 26–7).

Despite the violence of the scene, the representation is distinguished by the gentility and nobility of the figures, the grace and harmony of the movements. The slim bodies give the impression of floating in a transcendental space, and the heads are portraits of idealised beauty. The faces are modelled in a painterly manner with deft brushstrokes and without outlines. A few broad highlights are applied to the brown flesh, and the eyes have a pure white bulb, an intense black dot for the pupil in the middle of the brown iris and a fine red line on the upper eyelid. The drapery on the garments is soft and flowing, with undulating lines; the purple and plum colour on the mantles is virtually uniform; and the folds are indicated by

chiaroscuro, without denoting the planes and emphasising the edges. The colours are light, almost translucent, in sensitive combinations. The purple and plum are balanced by the almond green and greyish blue, while the wheaten colour on the breastplates is enlivened by golden reflections.

The iconographic types of both saints, which were to become stereotypes in Cretan icon painting from the 15th to the 17th century, the high quality of the work, and its stylistic traits lead to the attribution of this icon to a painter active in Candia, capital of Venetian-held Crete, the place where the most interesting artistic fermentations from the encounter of Byzantine with western art took place.

The type of the standing soldier-saint trampling the dragon or the defeated foe seems to have been particularly widespread in 15th-century Cretan art, and occurs both in icons and in wall paintings. The wall painting in the Valsamonero monastery, with the depiction of St Merkourios slaying Julian, is exactly the same as the depiction of the saint on this icon in the Latsis Collection, while the type of St George is followed by two large icons of the saint in Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, no.24, pp 76–7, pl.26) and in the Zakynthos Museum (Mylona 1998, no.82, p.216). The large icon of St Theodore Teron (cat.33) with the signature of Angelos, in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, follows the representation of St Merkourios in the pose and the intense movement of the body, but the figure of the saint in Angelos' icon is more solidly structured, the drawing firm and the outlines clear, while the details are executed with precision. Lastly, St Merkourios in an analogous pose is depicted on a 16th-century Cretan icon preserved in the church of Sv. Nikola Gerakomija (St Nicholas of the Old People's Home) at Ohrid (Vocotopoulos 1996, pp 137–40, pls 1–5).

MARIA KAZANAKI-LAPPA



The Souls of the Righteous in the Hand of God

Early 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
26.9 x 18.5 cm
Candia, Crete (?)
Athens, Marianna Latsis Collection

Conservation: L. Morocco, London

Literature: London 1996, no.3 (M. Kazanaki-Lappa);
Monaco 1998, no.3 (M. Kazanaki-Lappa); Hauste-
in-Bartsch 2000, pp. 11–28, pls 21–3; Kazanaki-Lappa 2000,
pp. 29–38, pls 25, 34–5; New York 2009, no.6, p.48
(M. Kazanaki-Lappa)

THE SUBJECT of this second small icon in the set of eight in a composite work, as described in cat. 12 (Haustein-Bartsch 2000, pp. 11–28, pls 12–23), is 'The Souls of the Righteous in the Hand of God'. It illustrates believers' expectation of the salvation of the souls of the Just. In the middle of the upper part, the hand of God, holding the souls of the Righteous in the form of swaddled babes in its palm, projects in large scale, surrounded by rays from the arc of heaven. On either side of the hand of God is the inscription *XIP ΘEOY* (Hand of God). Lower down to the left, the prophet David, in three-quarter pose and gazing heavenwards, prays with his right hand raised. In his left he holds a scroll with a verse from the psalms: *Ἡ ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΧΕΡΣΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΕΠΕΛΑΘΟΜΗΝ* ('My soul is continually in my hand, Yet I do not forget your law') (Psalm 118/119:109). On the right is the prophet Solomon, in frontal pose with head slightly bowed, pointing towards heaven with his right hand and holding in his left a scroll with the inscription: *ΔΙΚΑΙΩΝ ΨΥΧΑΙ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΣΙ ΘΕΟΥ* ('Souls of the Righteous in the Hand of God') (Wisdom of Solomon 3:1). The prophets stand on the green foreground, projected against the gold ground on which their names are written next to them: *Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΔΑΥΙΔ* (Prophet David), *Ο ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΣΟΛΩΜΩΝ* (Prophet Solomon).

The representation is a visual rendering of the verse 'But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God and the tortures of death shall

not touch them' (Wisdom of Solomon 3:1), known to us from monumental painting of the 14th and the early 15th centuries (Der Nersessian 1975, pp. 331–2, fig. 10). In the known representations, sometimes only the hand of God holding the souls of the Righteous is depicted (church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki), while other times the hand of God with the souls is flanked by the prophets David and Solomon in regal raiment and holding inscribed scrolls (Chora monastery, Manasija monastery). The eschatological meaning of the subject is obvious at Gračanica and in the church of the Dormition of the Virgin at Vladimir, where the hand of God is associated directly with the Second Coming. The choice of this rare subject for the icon discussed here should also be regarded as alluding to the Second Coming and the future Judgement. The inscription on David's scroll – 'My soul is continually in my hand, Yet I do not forget your law' – expresses faith in divine justice and clarifies that precondition for man's salvation is obedience to God's commandments.

David – middle-aged with short, round, grizzled beard – is in imperial garb, a purple sakkos and a gold-embroidered loros with cruciform ornaments of black and red precious stones framed by pearls. The loros is wound round the neck, with one end hanging in front down to the hem of the sakkos, and the other turning behind on the back, returning in front, folding over and falling on the left arm, revealing the reverse of the textile. A wide bejewelled band adorns the hem of the sakkos, a narrower one the wide sleeves, while there are small appliqué gold-embroidered squares on the back. The costume is completed by gold shoes and a high crown studded with precious stones and pearls. David's garments copy those of Byzantine emperors in the Late Byzantine period, as known from wall paintings and illuminated manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries. This dress was established by Cretan painters in the depiction of St Catherine and of St Constantine and St Helen. St Catherine wears a similar purple sakkos and bejewelled loros in the icon of the Virgin and St Catherine (cat. 35), which bears the signature of Angelos.

The figure of Solomon, with his serious, serene face, draws its origin from figures such as Daniel or Azarias in the dome of the Chora monastery (Underwood 1966, vol. 1, pp. 54–5,

vol. 2, pls 79–80). The young prophet is depicted beside his father, dressed in the garments of an oriental prince – a short green tunic with gold embroidery at the neck and a gold band on the hem, cinched at the waist by a black belt, with black leggings and purple, gold-embroidered shoes. On a narrow purple band below the sternum is the radiant star of David. A purple mantle fastened with a fibula at the side of the chest, falls on the back in ample folds. The high gem-studded crown on the head underlines his royal status.

The two prophet kings are depicted with different poses and gestures, in a balanced and rhythmical composition. The handsome head of the mature David and the face of Solomon full of youthful grace, with light-coloured eyes gazing directly at the viewer, are painted in an accomplished manner. The artist models the volumes through gradations of the brown under-layer, picking out the prominent points with strong bright brushstrokes – a manner encountered in the icon of the Descent into Hell in the Benaki Museum, as well as in the lovely icon of the Myrrh-Bearing Women and the Miracle of St Phanourios (cat. 20) in the collection of St Catherine of the Sinaites in Iraklion. The colours are clear and lustrous, the drapery on the garments is fluid. On David's purple sakkos the colour is uniform, the folds are delineated by lines of denser pigment, while on the light green chiton of Solomon the sheen of the luxurious textile is indicated by wash of the same colour paling to white.

The representation of the prophets accompanying the hand of God with the souls of the Righteous appears to have been of limited appeal in Cretan icons. It is encountered only on an unpublished late 16th-century triptych in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens. Nonetheless, it is interesting that the pair of prophets in almost identical garments and analogous movements and poses is depicted in the dome of the Stavronikita monastery (1546), the work of the Cretan painter Theophanes (Chatzidakis 1986, p. 47, figs 26, 32), which fact reveals the transfer of the models through working drawings (*anthivola*) or pattern books, as well as the selective affinities of the painters.

MARIA KAZANAKI-LAPPA



The Nativity of Christ

Second half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

96 x 78 cm

Candia, Crete (?)

Venice, Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, inv.no.10

Literature: Chatzidakis 1962, no.13, pp 30–31;

Venice 1993, no.12, pp 62–5 with earlier bibliography (N. Chatzidakis); Kazanaki-Lappa 2005, no.7, p.38.

THE VIRGIN, clad in a deep-red maphorion, is depicted lying on a lavish red palliasse, outside a cave formed in the slope of a rock. The holy infant lies inside the cave swaddled in a built manger, flanked by animals which warm him with their breath. Developed circularly around this central core are the secondary episodes, which are based on the narratives in the canonical and the apocryphal gospels that illustrate events in the earthly and the heavenly sphere on the night of the Incarnation of the Divine Word. On the right, an elderly shepherd wrapped in his black sheepskin cloak, and his companion, a young shepherd who leans his back on his crook and whose cap has slipped down on the nape of his neck, receive in astonishment the joyful news from the angel. Lower down, Joseph, deep in his thoughts, sitting on a rock, appears to be listening to the two shepherds who now stand in front of him. Behind him, the midwife and Salome prepare the infant's bath, and higher up, the Magi, mounted on horses, ascend the steep slope, guided by a flying angel. Above the cave, against the dark ground of a starry sky, the delightful figures of angels are depicted, some kneeling in veneration before the holy infant and others standing and singing praises. Their words are written at the base of the luminous arc framing the composition: 'ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΥΨΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΩ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ' ('Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men') (Luke 2:14). A double ray issuing from heaven encircles the Nativity star, which beams down upon the newborn Christ, defining the centre of the composition: the

swaddled babe is the son of God made man. The manger, reminiscent of a sarcophagus, and the dark cave allude to the future Passion and Entombment. Genre scenes impart an idyllic and poetic character to the composition. A little shepherd-boy, sitting on a rock and wreathed with leaves, nonchalantly plays his pipe beside his flock, while sheep and goats nibble the leaves of the trees or drink water from a stream flowing between the rocks. Further down is the curled-up sleeping sheep-dog, while a hind quenches its thirst at the brook. Below, in the middle, a hare with ears erect hides in the root of the tree that stands between Joseph and Salome.

This iconographic scheme of the Nativity, a creation of the Late Byzantine period, appears fully developed in the wall painting of the Nativity in the Peribleptos, Mystras, where the dominant rocky landscape is articulated in three peaks, which accommodate in their formations the central subject of the Virgin and the infant Christ, as well as the secondary episodes. This type is reproduced in the icon known as the Volpi Nativity (cat.5), in a dense composition with translucent vibrant colours, the work of a Constantinopolitan painter of the early 15th century (Drandaki 2002, pp 24–35, pls 13–21). Close associations in terms of iconography could be drawn between the Volpi Nativity and the icon shown here, as well as the icon of the Nativity in the Byzantine Museum of Athens (cat.39). The same working drawing (*anthivolon*) seems to have been used for the two last works, and it is characteristic that in both the Virgin is placed on the flat area of a large white cuboid rock.

The present icon is representative of the art developed by painters in Crete in the 15th century, as a continuation of the Palaiologan tradition: rhythm and balance in the composition; gentility and serenity in the poses and gestures of the figures; nobility and tranquillity in their expressions; and an interest in depicting nature and picturesque details. The lyrical tone in the representation is enhanced by the use of colours and light. The dominant tones of olive green and ochre are enlivened by purple, while carmine, blue, wine red, and shades of green and grey complete the palette. The laudatory character of the representation is intensified by the light, which shines forth from the heavenly sphere, setting off the relief

of the rocks and illumining the faces and the garments, as well as the babe in the cradle and the terrace on which the Virgin reclines. This is without doubt the work of an important painter who was living and working in Candia in the second half of the 15th century and who reproduces an already crystallised iconographic type with great sensitivity and care, with very few concessions to western art in the depiction of the animals, which recall manners of Italian painters.

The icon is set within a large frame of Renaissance type contemporary to it, with relief and painted decoration, increasing its size and enhancing its beauty and quality. Two fluted colonnettes support a cornice with gilded vegetal decoration on a black ground. On the protruding parts of the cornice above the columns the figures of prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel are depicted, in bust, holding in one hand a scroll with their prophecies of the Nativity, and with the other pointing to the central representation, which constitutes the fulfillment of their prophecies.

MARIA KAZANAKI-LAPPA



St Jerome Extracting a Thorn from a Lion's Paw

Third quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

34.5 × 27 cm

Candia, Crete

London, British Museum, no.P&E 1994.5-1.1

Provenance: John Ruskin, who gifted it to the painter William Ward. Before 1905 it was in the possession of Alfred A. de Pass, who donated it to the National Gallery, London, in 1920 (no.3543). Transferred to the British Museum in 1994.

Conservation: National Gallery, London, 1992-3.

Literature: van Marle 1924, p.39; Ring 1945, p.193 and fig.8; Pallucchini 1964, p.216 and fig.678; Davies 1951, pp.117-18 and pl.82; Ridderbos 1984, p.37 and fig.18; London 1994, no.229, p.215 (V. Fountoulaki); Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998b, pp.194-200, *passim* with earlier bibliography and 217, pl.A'; Campbell 2005, p.37 and fig.15 (printed reversed).

ST JEROME, AN OLD MAN seated on a carved wooden throne, uses tweezers to extract a thorn from the paw of a rampant lion, in accordance with an episode described in his second *Vita*. He wears a purple chiton, the wide-brimmed red hat and the ermine-lined red cape of a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. On a lectern is an open book with the text: '*Iram vince patientia. Ama scientiam scripturarum et carnis vitia non amabis*' ('Overcome rage with patience. Love study of the Scriptures, and thou shalt not desire the sins of the flesh'), from Jerome's epistles. Around him spreads a rocky landscape with a three-aisled basilica in the background right. The drawing and modelling, the rendering of space and the plants, reveal a painter with Byzantine education, whereas the drapery and rock formations bespeak knowledge of late medieval Italian art. Due to this hybrid character, the work had been earlier assigned to the 'Veneto-Byzantine' or the Venetian School of the 14th century. Later, however, it was attributed to Cretan painting (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1988a, p.58; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998b, pp.194-200; cf. London 1994, no.229, p.215 (V. Fountoulaki)).

Indefatigable student and translator of the Bible into Latin, Jerome is counted among the four *doctores ecclesiae* of the Catholic Church. He is encountered more frequently in western than in Byzantine art. There was a revival of his cult in Italy in the 14th century, when there was a concomitant dissemination of his depiction, known from the 9th century, as a cardinal (for examples, see Jungblut 1967, *passim*). In reality the title did not exist in his day. The interest of major monastic orders, such as the Dominicans, contributed to this; while a special role was also played by the professor at the University of Bologna, lawyer and humanist Johannes Andreae, as author of the work *Hieronymianus* (1340-42), and the preference of humanist circles for a saint with literary activity to his credit, comparable to their own pursuits. It should be noted that the humanist literati favoured both representations of Jerome in his study in the garb of a cardinal, and other iconographic types, of the repentant hermit or the healer of the lion, as in the icon here (Quain 1952, pp.201-32; Meiss 1974, p.134; Ridderbos 1984, pp.15-16, 29-36; Russo 1987, pp.38, 44-5).

The subject is a commonplace in the *vitae* of ascetic saints, such as Gerasimos, from where it was transplanted to the *Vita* of Jerome (Ring 1945, p.189; Friedmann 1980, pp.19-20). The scene recalls Palaiologan works with Gerasimos extracting a thorn from a lion's paw (wall paintings in the church of St Nicholas Orphanos at Thessaloniki, icon in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem). However, striking similarities are observed in Italian art, such as a painting attributed to Ottaviano Nelli (c.1410-20), and in German woodcuts of between 1430 and 1470 (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998b, pp.194-5, 207-8 and pls ΣΤ'-Θ' 2).

Based on a combination of elements and the iconology, the icon has been associated with the renowned Metropolitan of Nicaea and subsequent Cardinal Bessarion (1472) (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998b, pp.210-15), fervent advocate of the Union of the Orthodox and the Latin Church at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-9). The depiction of Jerome - a saint of the early, undivided Christian Church, and an erudite prelate - was certainly an attractive subject for a person who believed in the Union of the Churches and had humanist interests. Bessarion possessed codi-

ces with Jerome's epistles, while a two-volume incunabulum (1468) in his collection, now in the Marciana Library in Venice, includes a prolix description of the episode with the lion. In Rome (where the relic of St Jerome had been translated in 1395), Bessarion also had contacts with the philosopher and humanist Cardinal Nicholas Cusanus, venerator of St Jerome. Furthermore, the similarity in the portrait features of Bessarion and the figure of Jerome is eloquent (Lollini 1994, figs 94, 100). The connoisseur Bessarion will have commissioned the icon from a painter in Crete (for his contacts with Crete see Saffrey 1994, pp.241-5). Candia was home to a Franciscan convent of St Jerome since at least the 15th century, with nuns of St Claire. This would have contributed to the local painters' familiarity with the iconography of the cardinal. Furthermore, Bessarion founded in Crete in 1462 a bequest providing financial support to Unionists on the island (Tsirpanlis 1967, pp.81ff). In all probability, it is to Bessarion that we owe this iconography of St Jerome in a Cretan work, although it is not certain whether the icon now in London was indeed associated with him.

St Jerome also features in Cretan painting in other iconographic types (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998b, pp.193-4; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2006, p.165; Baltoyanni 2003, no.35, pp.209-10, with earlier bibliography, 220, pl.70 and no.36, p.225, pl.75).

British art critic John Ruskin acquired the panel, probably in Venice, attracted by its Late Gothic traits which were highly esteemed in Gothic Revival circles in 19th-century Britain (Clark 1928, pp.191-204). Ruskin had also admired in Venice the well-known cycle of St Jerome by Carpaccio (Ruskin 1884, pp.129-33). By acquiring this piece - which was probably considered to be Venetian at the time - Ruskin became, unknowingly, one of the earliest collectors of Cretan icons in modern times.

MARIA CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES



Saints Augustine, Jerome and Benedict

Mid-15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

44.1 x 44 cm

Crete (?)

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv.no.1594

Provenance: The icon was purchased by Francis A. Smith and Louise Morant, in Venice in 1871. In 1931 it was purchased from the latter by the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum and donated to the museum.

Conservation: Lauren Elizabeth Fly, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 2006.

Literature: Bettini 1933, pp 56–7; Goodison and Robertson 1967, pp 182–3; Muraro 1969, p.138, fig.143

REPRESENTED AGAINST a gold ground are three standing, bearded saints (the haloes are faintly drawn with double concentric black lines). They wear the insignia and dress of their rank. Two saints in episcopal vestments of the Western Church, with sceptre in the left hand and closed, gold-striated codex in the right, flank the central figure of a cardinal holding the model of a church and a closed, likewise gold-striated, codex. Inscriptions in calligraphic majuscule Gothic characters, preserved in relatively good condition, help identify the three saints as Augustine, Jerome and Benedict. Two horizontal notches on the back and a large number of nails over the entire surface – revealed by X-ray – raise the possibility that the icon might have originally been affixed to a larger composition, from which it was detached, to be placed initially in a thin rectangular and subsequently in a larger carved wood frame.

Augustine (354–430), Jerome (340/2–420) and Benedict (480–547), eminent theologians with prodigious literary activity, rank among the most recognisable and popular saints. Augustine and Jerome in particular have been named Doctors of the Catholic Church (*doctores ecclesiae*). Although widely depicted in Italian art, mainly in 14th- and 15th-century Italian panel painting, representations of the three saints together in the iconographic type seen here are not known. Nonetheless, the iconography of

Saints Jerome and Benedict refers directly to North Italian art: the iconographic type of Jerome dressed as cardinal and holding a codex and the model of a church was initially introduced in the painting of Bologna and subsequently of Venice, in the late 13th and early 14th century (Russo 1987, 86). The painter of this icon seems to have copied the figure of St Benedict from a depiction of St Augustine on the right leaf of a triptych (1445–50) by Giovanni di Paolo, now in the Samuel H Kress Collection, New York (Shapley 1966, K.432, pp 148–9, fig.401).

Depictions of Saints Augustine, Jerome and Benedict in the iconographic type of the present icon appear frequently in Cretan painting, mainly of the 15th and 16th centuries. The most representative of the published examples are the following: Augustine depicted in a composite Italo-Cretan work (polyptych) now in Boston (early 15th century) (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1993–4, fig.1), in a post-Byzantine icon by Ioannis Permeniatas now in the Museo Correr, Venice (early decades of the 16th century) (Venice 1993, no.32, pp 134–9 (N. Chatzidakis)), and, together with Jerome, in an icon attributed to the same painter or his workshop, now in the Ravenna Museum (16th century) (Angiolini-Martinelli 1982, no.55/1, p.136, fig.55/1). A fresco (?) representation of the saint adorned the monastery of the Augustinians in Candia (Georgopoulou 2001, p.144). Benedict is depicted in a composite icon (1500) now in Geneva (Venice 1993, no.26, p.119, fig.13 (N. Chatzidakis)) as well as on a triptych leaf now in the Vatican Art Gallery (15th century) (Fiorin 1995, no.3, p.16, fig.6). Jerome is depicted on a slightly later triptych, now in the same Art Gallery (late 15th to early 16th century), with a codex but without the model of a church in his hand (Fiorin 1995, no.4, p.16, fig.7).

For an interpretation of this icon we must turn to the iconography of St Jerome as cardinal in the artistic production of Crete. Efforts to identify the origins of this iconographic type resulted in associating it directly with the illustrious Greek humanist and man of letters Cardinal Johannes Bessarion (1389 or 1395–1472) and his milieu (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998b, pp 211–15). Bessarion had a profound knowledge of Augustine's theological treatises as well as of the Monastic Canons of St Benedict. Codices and manuscripts con-

taining these works featured prominently in his library (Labowsky 1979, pp 212–14, 230, 237). On his initiative, the church which was added to the south part of Santa Madonna del Monte in Bologna was dedicated to St Benedict (Lollini 1994, p.153). In 1453 Pope Pius II issued a chrysobull in which he bestowed to Bessarion absolute authority over the clergy in the Augustinian church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, as well as over the clergy of the church of San Paulo in Umbria, which was following the rules of the Benedictine order (PG 161, col.76, para.133). The three saints were venerated in Crete. In 1462 Bessarion founded a bequest on the island to provide financial support to Cretan pro-Unionists. The association of the iconography of the icon seen here with the Greek Cardinal and, subsequently, with the pro-Unionists, explains its uniqueness. The style and date of the work further support such an association.

Stylistically, the icon displays an interesting fusion of Byzantine and western elements as assimilated by Cretan painters of the 14th and 15th centuries, such as the soft dark textured brushstrokes applied repeatedly to accentuate the fluidity in the garments (in particular, the black chitons of the outer figures). However, the broad olive-green shadows, the roseate hue of the flesh, and – most of all – the strong staccato parallel lines of white highlights in the rendering of the face and hands seem to refer directly to the Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos (*fl.c.* 1425–50), as well as to Andreas (*c.* 1421–92) and, to a lesser degree, to Nikolaos Ritzos (*fl.c.* 1482–before 1507). The panel also displays striking similarities to the British Museum icon of St Jerome and the Lion (cat.15), which Constantoudaki-Kitromilides has dated to the third quarter of the 15th century (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998b, pp 197–200). The hypothesis is that the two icons perhaps come from the same workshop in a thriving artistic centre, most probably Venetian-held Crete, which received, assimilated and expressed elements both from Byzantium and the West, should not be ruled out. A similar hypothesis illuminates further not only Bessarion's pivotal influence on cultural and artistic issues of his day, but also the significance of 15th-century Cretan painters such as Angelos Akotantos in the formation of a pervasive artistic identity throughout the island.

DIMITRA KOTOUOLA





An abstract painting featuring a dark, textured background. A prominent vertical line, possibly a crack or a seam, runs down the center. The composition is dominated by warm, earthy tones of orange, red, and brown, which appear to be layered or dripped onto the dark surface. The overall effect is one of depth and complexity, with various textures and colors interacting to create a rich, layered visual experience.

PART II

THE PAINTING
OF ANGELOS

The Will of Angelos Akotantos

MARIA KAZANAKI-LAPPA

THE WILL OF Angelos Akotantos, an important and interesting text in many respects, was written in the painter's own hand in Candia, in 1436, occasioned – as he himself states – by his imminent voyage to Constantinople (figs 18, 19; for a full translation, see the Appendix at the end of this chapter). Manoussos Manoussakas identified a copy of the will in the State Archives of Venice – in the series *Duca di Candia, Atti Antichi* – in 1961. He published this the following year in his article ‘*Η διαθήκη του Αγγέλου Ακοτάντου (1436) αγνώστου κρητικού ζωγράφου*’ (‘The will of Angelos Akotantos (1436), an unknown Cretan painter’).¹ In 1981 Maria Vassilaki, arguing on the basis of information in the will, proposed the identification of Angelos Akotantos as Angelos, the painter who signed with his forename (*XEIP AΓΓΕΛΟΥ* = Hand of Angelos) a series of superb Cretan icons. Until then Angelos had been considered, based on an unconfirmed snippet of information, as a late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century painter, even though the stylistic analysis of his works was at variance with this dating.² The hypothesis that the icons bearing the signature *XEIP AΓΓΕΛΟΥ* must be works by Angelos Akotantos had been proposed in 1977 by the late Father Mario Cattapan, who expressed his hope that research would progress on this issue.³ The convincing identification of Angelos Akotantos, compiler of the will, as the icon painter Angelos permitted the secure dating of his oeuvre and a deeper understanding of fifteenth-century painting in Crete.⁴ It also provided the opportunity to form a clearer picture of the painter's personality, mentality and social status.

Wills are complex texts that oscillate between personal expression and conformity to imposed norms, and imprint a unique experience: the moment when a person – usually under some kind of external pressure (an illness, a journey or some other significant event) – directly confronts the prospect of his death. At this critical moment established formulae provide the framework for him to stipulate his wishes, allocate his worldly goods and make provision for the salvation of his soul. The habit of drawing up a will was revived in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and under the particular favour of the Church was widely disseminated in both Byzantium and the West.⁵ In Crete during the period of Venetian rule, wills were usually drawn up by notaries, in accordance with a set format, and were published immediately after the testator's death. More rarely, individuals, mainly of some cultivation, wrote secret wills in their own hand, which were then ratified by entry in the registers of the public notaries.⁶

Angelos Akotantos observed this procedure of ratification. On completing his autograph text, he presented it on 26 April 1436 to the notary of Candia, Georgios Vatatzes, to whom he declared, in the presence of three witnesses, that it was his will and requested of him that after his death it be given official form: ‘*reddigere in publicam formam cum additionibus et clausulis consuetis*’, as Vatatzes records in the relevant clause he wrote below the text of the will.⁷ It is possible that the painter presented to the notary two copies for ratification, one of which remained in his hands. In 1457, 21 years later, when Angelos was no longer alive and disputes had arisen in his family, this manuscript was presented in the

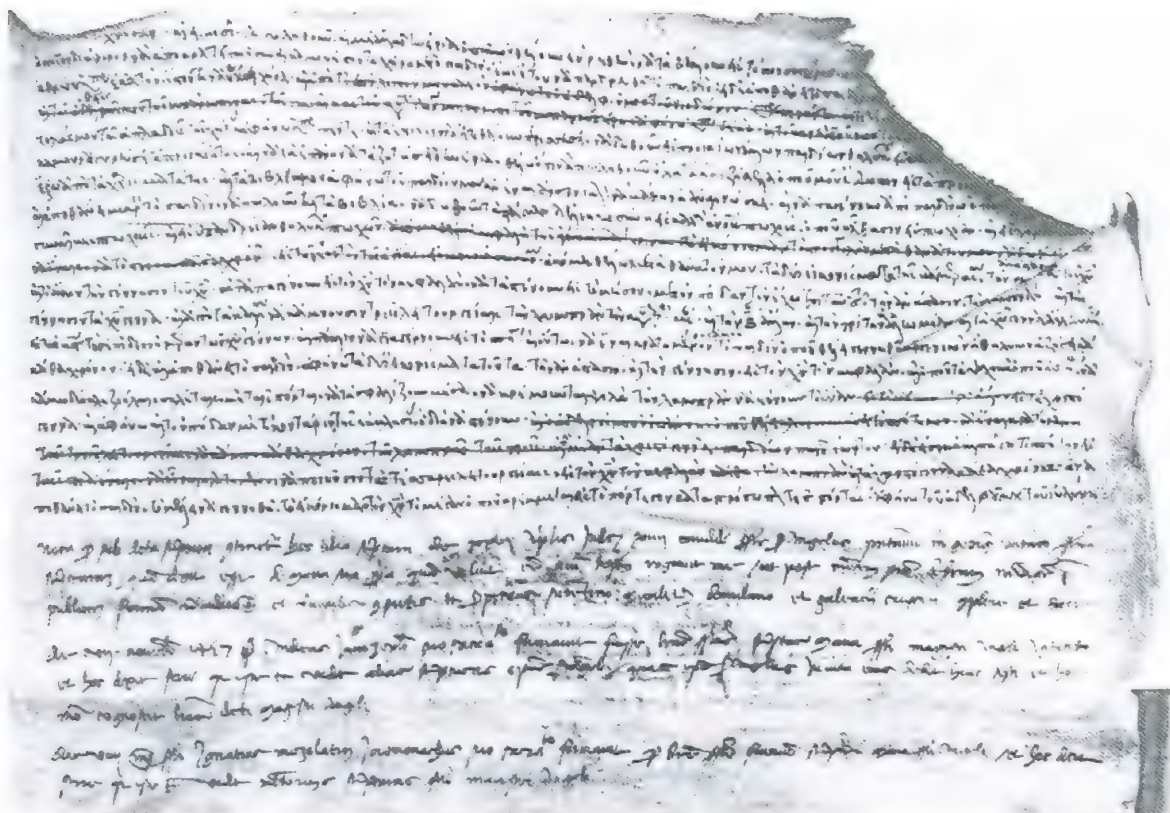


Fig.19.
The end of the text of Angelos Akotantos' will. Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia

monastery, by the abbot Ionas, and the other in the church of Christ Kephala. A further charitable act concerns the liberation of his maidservant Lucia, who shall be given 'whatever clothes I have had made for her'.⁹

The allocation of his possessions begins with the return of the dowry to his wife, whom he gives the option of choosing between the return of the actual goods and chattels or of their value in cash.¹⁰ However, what concerns him particularly is the fact that his wife is expecting their child, whose future he feels obliged to secure. His principal property is the upper storey of his father's house in the city, which is his residence, and the small workshop (τον μαγαζέν τον μικρόν) in the ground floor; the rest of the ground floor belongs to his younger brother Ioannis, also a painter, to whom his father had given it 'when he married him off'. So, he ordains that if the child born is a boy 'and he lives and marries', he shall inherit the house and workshop, and he shall not be able to sell it or to gift it, but only to bequeath it in turn to his son, so that the house 'pass from male child to male child'. The son will be under the obligation to give each year four hyperpyra

to four poor men, 'for the soul' of his father. However, should the boy die without legal heirs, the house is to revert to Ioannis, who is bound to give annually 'for my soul' twelve hyperpyra to six good men who have fallen on hard times. After Ioannis' death, the house is to be inherited by his male heirs, but should Ioannis die without male heirs, the house will pass to the monastery of St Catherine, the dependency (metochion) of the Sinaites in Candia. The fathers should pay to the public purse the annual tax of twenty hyperpyra and three grosia, give fourteen hyperpyra to seven poor men and send the rest of the money – income from rents of the house – to the Sinai monastery. If the child is a girl, the entire house will be given as her dowry, on condition that she does not marry before her fifteenth birthday; should she die, the house will revert to Ioannis.

The boy must learn to read and write as well as the craft of painting, and if he becomes a painter he will inherit the drawings and the tools of his father's trade: 'If the child about to be born is a boy, I wish him first to learn to read and write, and then the craft of painting,

And if he learns it, I leave him my *disegni* and all the tools of my trade; but, if he learns it not, I mean the craft, I leave my *disegni*, that is drawings, and all [the tools] of my trade to my brother Ioannis.' The boy will also inherit the painter's books: 'And my books I leave to my child, if it be male, that he may learn to read and these shall be handed down from son to son.' If the child dies, however, the books will be sold and the money given to poor men, indigent widows and to provide dowries for pauper girls. It is thus evident that Angelos had a considerable library.

In order to secure an income for the upkeep of mother and child, until the latter marries, Akotantos ordains that his surplus household goods and the gold and silver in his hands be sold, and together with the cash that will be found, constitute a capital sum 'to be put in a safe investment, where it will accumulate interest, from which interest my wife, when a widow, and the child can live until the child marries.' Should the child die, Angelos' wife will take one hundred hyperpyra and the money from the sale of her dowry. Angelos also leaves from the residue of his estate, that is cash whose provenance is not specified, fifty hyperpyra to his brother Theodoros, ten hyperpyra to his sister Barbina, wife of the barber Georgios Barbo, ten hyperpyra to his nephew and executor Michelis Prinkypas and five to his godmother the widow Apladou. What money is left over shall be given to provide dowries for pauper girls.

The painter is particularly solicitous about four icons, which are in his house and are possibly his own works. A round icon (tondo) with the head of St Catherine will be given to the dependency (metochion) of the Sinaites, for them to set it up in the church on the saint's feast day, in his memory. Another two icons, of the Nativity and of the Resurrection, which were in Angelos' bedchamber, should be brought each year, at Christmas and Easter respectively, to the church of Christ Kephalas, with their special stand, the '*podas* which I have for that purpose', and placed in the middle of the church. Then three masses should be celebrated in Angelos Akotantos' memory at Easter and one mass on the day after Christ-

mas, with expenses 'from my goods'. In the event of the death of his child, the two icons will be dedicated in the church and two tabernacles with doors should be made for their safekeeping, as they will be hung high up throughout the rest of the year. Last, should the child die, a large icon of Christ, which was in the portico (*πόρτεγο*) of the house, opposite the door, would come into the possession of his brother Ioannis. At this point the text of the will ends somewhat abruptly; it will have been completed by the essential addenda and the codicil by the notary, in accordance with the painter's command. The manuscript remained for many years among the papers of the painter, who does not seem to have dealt again with this matter of his will.

We shall perhaps never know whether Angelos Akotantos made the voyage in 1436, which was the reason for drafting his will. Nonetheless, we have some further information about the painter's life and family history from a series of surviving archival documents. It emerges from these that Angelos served briefly as chief cantor (protopsaltes) in Candia, from November 1449 to June 1450. He died in the summer of 1450, perhaps from a sudden serious illness.¹¹ It is also known that in addition to the child born in 1436 he had other offspring, all girls, only one of whom – Varvara – lived.¹² In 1457, the issue of Varvara's marriage caused friction between her mother and her paternal uncles. On 24 July 1457 a ducal decision – delivered consequent to the petition filed by the late painter's brothers, Theodoros and Ioannis – banned her mother, Eleni, from marrying the girl off without their consent. According to the text of the decision, the two brothers accused their sister-in-law, whom they characterised as 'light-headed' (*levis cerebri*), of preparing to marry off her daughter to Ioannis Skouloudes son of Michelis, who was passing frequently along the street and in front of the door of her house. On the contrary, they desired – and were prepared to spend money from their own fortune – to give her to a better spouse, '*pro honore suo et secundum conditionem facultatis honorum eius*' ('for her honour and for their honour too'). It was decided to fine the mother

500 hyperpyra if she violated the stipulations, to install Varvara in Theodoros' house, and to penalise Ioannis Skouloudes with imprisonment and a fine of fifty hyperpyra each time he harassed the girl or came within a distance of fifty paces of her house.¹³

However, the severe ducal decision proved ineffective, because, as the events that followed demonstrate, Varvara was determined to go ahead with this marriage. Two months later, on 2 October 1457, showing unusual audacity and resolve, she drew up a nuptial agreement with Ioannis' father, Micaletus de Filipo, in which it was agreed that the wedding would take place in two months. The bride promised a dowry of 1,500 hyperpyra, of which 500 were the gift to the groom. This sum included primarily the value of the paternal house (*'dictas domos positas in civitate Candide apud ecclesiam titulata[m] Christo Chefala ... que domus mihi spectant et pertinent juri paterno et per obitum sororum meorum'* = 'the above-mentioned houses which are located in the city of Candia next to the church of Christ Kephala ... and were bequeathed to her by paternal law'), as well as gold, silver, precious stones and clothing.¹⁴ On the previous day, her mother, in a carefully worded notarial document that belies her trials and tribulations resulting from her daughter's choice, gave her blessing for the marriage and guaranteed to supplement the dowry to the tune of 1,500 hyperpyra.¹⁵ The presentation and the ratification by the authorities of Angelos' will should be interpreted in the context of Varvara's imminent marriage, so as to secure her inheritance rights to the paternal house, which, as is mentioned in the marriage contract, stood at the very centre of the city, close to the church of Christ Kephala, next to St Mark's Square.¹⁶

Varvara's wedding took place in late April 1458, as referred to in a notarial act by which Ioannis Skouloudes confirmed that the dowry paid to him in the end exceeded the promised amount by 300 hyperpyra.¹⁷ Fruit of this marriage was at least one son, Mikeletos, who as a grown man, on 17 December 1500, put up for rent the workshop with cistern, which was situated below the house of Angelos Akotantos, close to the grain warehouses (*'affita a*

Micali da Napoli e a li soi heredi lo suo magazen con la soa zisterna, mesa in la cita soto la casa de ser Anzolo Contando al fontego de la farina').¹⁸ It is indicative of the painter's reputation that the house continued to be referred to by his name, almost fifty years after his death.

Angelos Akotantos' will, the sole will of a Byzantine painter known to date, presents clear analogies to wills of contemporary European painters. In common with his fellow artists, he made careful provisions regarding his workshop, drawings and artworks. Common too is solicitude in taking measures to secure the future of the wife and children, as well as the spirit of the charities and deeds aimed at helping the soul after death. Comparable too are the wealth and the standard of living.¹⁹ However, what is especially interesting about Angelos Akotantos' will is the fact that it is an unmediated expression of the painter's wishes, which reflects his thoughts, conceptions and world-view. As this text reveals, Angelos at once belonged to a strictly ranked world, the world of Byzantium, and was a medieval man, a member of the complex transitional society of his age.²⁰ The painter came from a family of urban professionals. One of his brothers was a *rector scholarum*, perhaps principal of a private school, and the other a painter, while his sister was married to a tradesman in the city. The figure of the siblings' father, who was probably no longer alive, continues to loom large. From their father they inherited the large house in the old town, which was shared between two brothers – Angelos and Ioannis –; and, judging from the wording, ('the basement, which our father gave to my brother Ioannis when he married him off'), the father seems to have essentially determined the life of his children. The father must also have been a burgher and it cannot be ruled out that he was a painter, since two of his sons pursued that profession. In Angelos' conscience, he was the continuation of his father and his son would be the perpetuation of himself and his family, which he conceives of as a closed core whose existence is guaranteed only by male issue. The son would secure the continuity in art, too; he would be lettered, would inherit the painter's workshop and books, and all these would be continued

from son to son. It is characteristic that the boy would begin his apprenticeship by learning 'letters' (*γράμματα*), which obviously meant not just to read and write but an advanced education that would also determine the standard of his apprenticeship in the painter's art.

In this male world dominated by the hierarchy of relations, rights and obligations, and the prohibition on expressing feelings, the female's place was highly circumscribed. The interest in the girl is minimal. She would, of course, inherit the house, but this would be used as her dowry and would be alienated from the family. Even less is the care for the welfare of the wife, and it is not without significance that in the text of the will there is no mention of her name, only her status and future maternity. After the painter's death she must have been bereft of all comforts, since he ordains that 'I want my household effects and the surplus' – that is the furniture, precious objects and luxurious clothes – to be sold. This meant that she would have a limited income for the upkeep of herself and the child, until it married. Should the child die, she would be given one hundred hyperpyra, provided she remain a widow; however, her dowry would be redeemed to her in kind or cash.

Economically and socially Angelos belonged to the class of craftsmen that had already begun to make its presence felt in the urban centres from the thirteenth century. He was a particularly gifted craftsman whose education and origin enabled him to accumulate wealth through practising his craft. He did not invest this wealth in buying land, which usually provides security, but in gold, silver, precious objects and cash, sufficient to secure the future of his unborn child. He was, of course, well aware of the fickleness of fortune and confronted poverty in the spirit of Christian teaching, leaving charities to poor good men 'who have fallen on hard times', a phrase repeated at least three times in the text.

He lived comfortably in the spacious paternal home, adorned with furniture, luxurious objects and opulent textiles, as well as with his beloved icons, which hung in the bedchamber and the reception hall as works of art but became images for veneration when they were trans-

ferred to the church on feast days. It is most likely that he had painted these works himself and did not want to part with them, which is why he took care of their future by leaving them to churches in the city, should he have no heirs. Angelos Akotantos had connections with the higher social echelons of Orthodox Christians in Candia, enjoying close ties with Ionas Palamas, abbot of the Valsamonero monastery and leading spiritual personality of the day, as well as with the church of Christ Kephalas and the monastery of St Catherine, the dependency of Sinai in the city.²¹

As is deduced from his oeuvre and from the text of his will, Angelos had been educated in a certain artistic, spiritual and ideological milieu, which had close relations with the Byzantine capital; the prospective journey to Constantinople should be viewed within this climate. He must have received systematic teaching in grammar and rhetoric, as well as music, since he held the important office of first cantor of Candia; and he also owned a notable personal library, which must have included not only codices of religious or musical content, but also sundry literary works.²² It is reasonable to suppose that he trained his apprentices in a similar spirit, teaching them not only his art but also order, measure, integrity, true piety, clear-mindedness: an exemplary life dedicated to duty, morality and faith, all those qualities that seem to have distinguished his own life.

The information in the will, in conjunction with the information in the ducal decisions and the notarial documents, compose the picture of an affluent burgher who calmly faced the possibility of his demise, accepting the natural order and rationally arranging his inheritance affairs. He drew up his will in the deep awareness of the frailties of the human condition as well as the consciousness of his worth and his social status. This text, which emanates restraint, prudence and austerity, imprints an intellectual attitude towards death – the attitude of a man who had a 'right stance towards God and men',²³ and had no doubts about it.

(A.S.V. – Duca di Candia, b.11: Atti antichi 2, b.25 bis (1443–57), quad.6 (last), no page numbering.)

- 1 Manoussakas 1960–61a, pp 139–51, pls 52–3. The will was republished in Kazanaki-Lappa 1993, pp 456–8 and Vassilaki 1997, pp 203–5. For the main part of the will in English translation see Mango 1972, pp 258–9. The full text of the will in English translation see in Richardson, Woods and Franklin 2007, pp 224–8 and Vassilaki 2009, pp 61–3.
- 2 Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp 290–98.
- 3 Cattapan 1977, pp 199–200.
- 4 Cormack 1997, pp 175–92.
- 5 Ariès 1977, p.278. Vovelle 1983, pp 184–6. Characteristic of the dissemination are the words of the Byzantine monk and man of letters Joseph Bryennios, who in 1421 drafted his will *according to the ethos prevailing in the whole world*, Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909, pp 295–6; Tomadakis 1961, pp 503–4. For Byzantine wills see Amantos 1953a, pp 281–7.
- 6 For practices of compiling and ratifying wills, and the associated problems, see in the introduction to the publication of McKee 1998, vol.1, pp XII–XVI. See also Kazanaki-Lappa 2004, pp 117–22, with relevant bibliography.
- 7 There is no indication of date in Akotantos' text; the manuscript only bears the incomplete date *die XXVj Aprilis, Indictione XIIIj*, which the notary noted in the act of ratification. On the basis of the indiction and by combining the information in a ducal decision of 1457, which is discussed below, M. Manoussakas rightly proposed the year 1436 as the most likely date for drafting the will, Manoussakas 1960–61a, pp 140–43.
- 8 Manoussakas 1960–61a, p.149. The deletions in the text, which concern mainly the bequests to his brother Ioannis, were presumably made by the painter himself some time later, but when is impossible to define.
- 9 The liberation of bonded servants was one of the acts that helped the post-mortem fate of the soul, and was adopted by will-makers both in Byzantium and the West, see Amantos 1953a, pp 282–4, and Bacci 2003, p.103. That here it concerns the liberation of a servant girl is confirmed by the notarial act of 1450, by which Angelos' widow, shortly after her husband's death, sells a Russian servant girl she had in her house to the widow of a Venetian nobleman, Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2003, pp 500–503, 507.
- 10 It is characteristic that if his wife takes back the goods and chattels of her dowry, then *her gifts* to him, that is the portion of the dowry that is a gift to the groom, will be returned to her as well. However, on the contrary, if she asks for the value of her dowry in cash, then the *gifts* will not be calculated in with this.
- 11 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2003, p.500.
- 12 In 1457 Varvara's mother refers to the deaths of her girls, in a notarial act with which she gives her blessing to her daughter on her marriage. Varvara herself also refers to the deaths in her nuptial agreement, see below and n.14.
- 13 Manoussakas 1960–61a, pp 141–6.
- 14 Vassilaki 1994, pp 91–3, 95–6; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2003, pp 502–4. That Varvara is the child born in 1436, as Manoussakas has suggested (Manoussakas 1960–61a, pp 141–3), is possible but not certain. The only thing that is certain is that Varvara was an adult in 1457, since she enters into legal acts. Indeed, her decision to marry may be related to her coming of age.
- 15 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2003, pp 502–3.
- 16 For the church of Christ Kephala see Tsirpanlis 1965, pp 12–24.
- 17 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2003, pp 502–3.
- 18 Vassilaki 1994, pp 93–4, 96. Another topographical detail regarding the painter's house is given here in relation to the grain warehouses, which at that time were adjacent to the Voltone, the gateway in the old city walls. Given the central location of the house, it cannot be ruled out that the *μαγατζές* referred to in the will and now belonging to Angelos' grandson had been used by the painter as a workshop.
- 19 For the wills of English, Flemish and Italian painters of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and their relation to the will of Angelos Akotantos see Vassilaki 1997, pp 197–8.
- 20 For the social and economic conditions prevailing in Crete during the period of Venetian rule see Maltezou 1988, pp 129–47 and Maltezou 1991, pp 197–8.
- 21 Ionas Palamas is the donor of the chapel of St Phanourios in the Valsamonero monastery, see Gerola 1932, pp 539–40, and is linked directly with the transfer of the cult of that saint from Rhodes to Crete, see Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, p.224. For the dependency (*metochion*) of the Sinai monastery in Candia see Amantos 1953b, pp 36–42 and Lassithiotakis 2006.
- 22 The library of Joseph Bryennios, which under the terms of his will (1421) was to be dedicated to the church of Agia Sophia at Constantinople, included only secular books, on grammar, rhetoric, geometry, music, works of Aristotle, arithmetic of Nikomachos, Geography of Claudius Ptolemy, etc., see Papadopoulos Kerameus 1909, pp 295–6. Another library of the same period, recorded in the will of the monk Neilos Damilas, in 1417, included only codices of theological content, see Lambros 1895, pp 585–7.
- 23 Le Goff 1984, p.389.

Appendix

English Translation of the Complete Will of the Painter Angelos Akotantos

Note [added] in Latin:

On the 16th day of November 1457 the following Greek document, written by Master Angelus Acontanto in his own hand and presented by Master Iohannes Acontato, a painter, was registered here as follows as required by law, word for word with the cancellations of content in the text, just as it was written there.

† Because of the transgression of our forefather Adam we have all been delivered into the hands of death and corruption, and there is among men no one who shall live and shall see not death. For which reason I, too, Angelos Kotantos the painter, being a mortal man and bound to die, and being about to sail to Constantinople, do draw up my will in respect of my possessions as follows. Firstly, I wish that kyr Manuel Marmaras the goldsmith, my best-man, and my wife and my nephew Michelis Prinkypas to be executors. Then I ordain firstly that a charitable donation of sixteen hyperpyra be given for the love of God to eight households of poor good men who have fallen on hard times and I leave [money] for two fortieth-day memorial services, one to be celebrated by the abbot of Valsamonero, kyr Ionas, and the other to take place in [the church of] Christ Kephalas; and that after my death my servant Lucia shall be free to take whatever clothes I have had made for her; and if my wife wishes to take the goods and chattels of her dowry those that she gave to me and all that she has given me till now

in denaria, let her take them in denaria. If she so wishes, I leave her also her gifts, but if she wants to take them in denaria, I leave her no gifts. And if she bears a male child and he lives and marries, then I leave my house to my son, the house in which I live, but he may not sell it or leave it to someone else, but it should be handed down from child to child. And my son shall be bound to give for my soul four hyperpyra a year to four poor good men who are in need. And if my son should die without legitimate issue, it is my wish that my house pass to my brother Ioannis and that Ioannis be bound to give for my soul twelve hyperpyra a year to six households of good people who have fallen on hard times, and Ioannis shall not be permitted to sell my house or leave it to anyone, but it should go to his child and pass from male child to male child, each of whom must give the offerings for my soul as I have ordained. But if my brother Ioannis should die without a male child the house should go to the metochion of St Catherine of the Sinaites, who should first pay to the treasury the property tax, which tax is [levied] on the upper floor where I live, the small shop which I have below and the basement, which our father gave to my brother Ioannis when he married him off, [which amounts to] twenty hyperpyra and three grosia, [which] we, Ioannis and I, are obliged to pay: I pay two-thirds and Ioannis one-third, as our father had ordained. And in that case the Sinaites shall be bound to give for my soul fourteen hyperpyra each year to seven households of good

men who have fallen on hard times, and as to the rest, which they can take as they wish from the rent on the house, they shall send it to Mt Sinai. If my wife should give birth to a female child, the house shall be the girl's dowry and the four hyperpyra for my soul shall always be given as I have ordained either by my daughter or my son, whoever inherits, and my daughter shall not be permitted to marry until she is fifteen years old, and if she dies before marriage, [the inheritance] shall pass to my brother Ioannis with such conditions as I have ordained above. If the child about to be born is a boy, I wish him first to learn to read and write, and then the craft of painting. And if he learns it, I bequeath him my *disegni* and all the tools of my trade; but, if he learns it not, I mean the craft, I leave my *disegni*, that is drawings, and all [the tools] of my trade to my brother Ioannis.

Moreover, I want my household effects and the surplus and any gold or silverware I may have to be sold and, with any other denaria I may have, to be put in a safe investment, where it will accumulate interest, from which interest my wife, when a widow, and the child can live until the child marries. If the child dies before marrying, my wife shall take one hundred hyperpyra, if she remains a widow. And from the residue of my estate I leave fifty hyperpyra to my brother Theodoros and ... hyperpyra to Ioannis and to my sister Barbina, the wife of kyr Georgios Barbo, the barber, I leave ten hyperpyra and to my nephew Michalis Prinkypas ... hyperpyra and to my god-mother Apladou the widow I leave five hyperpyra and the rest, whatever is left, shall be given for dowries to other female children upon marriage ... And if my wife should ask for her dowry back, she should take it in denaria, for I wish all the goods and chattels I received in the dowry to be sold and she can take them except for her gifts. And my books I leave to my child, if it be male, that he may learn to read and these shall be handed down from son to son and if the child should die young, let the books be sold and the proceeds be given as charity to good poor men who have

fallen into poverty and to widows and poor women and for the marriages of poor girls.

It is also my wish that the head of St Catherine, the round icon [tondo] be given after my death to the Sinaites, and that they set it up every year on the feast day of the Saint, in my memory. Moreover, after my death I want the two icons from my bedchamber, the Anastasis of Jesus Christ and the other of the Nativity of Christ to be taken to Christ Kephalas, for them to be set up in the middle [of the church], with the stand which I have for that purpose: the Anastasis at Easter and the Nativity at Christmas. And from my goods three liturgies should be celebrated [in that church]: one on Easter Sunday, another on Easter Monday and another on the Tuesday, and at Christmas another one on the twenty-sixth, the day after Christmas. And then they [the icons] should be returned to the house and the child about to be born, whether male or female, shall be obliged to do this each year as long as he or she lives. But if the child should die, I leave these two icons, the Anastasis and the Nativity, to Christ Kephalas and from the money I leave for my soul, for two wooden cases to be made with doors, so that they can be kept safely inside, to be hung high up, the one to be set up at Easter in the middle [of the church] and the other at Christmas. And I leave the stand with its pole to the church, so that they can be displayed. And my brother Ioannis, if he inherits the house from me, shall be bound to have the three liturgies [celebrated] each year, that is the three at Easter and the one at Christmas from generation to generation of his children. And if the house should go to the Sinaites, they shall be bound to celebrate the four liturgies in Christ Kephalas at Easter and at Christmas every year. If the child about to be born dies, the large icon of Christ, which hangs in the antechamber facing the doorway, I leave to my brother Ioannis.

Latin addendum

Note that the following text was contained in the other text:

On the 15th day of April, in the fourteenth indiction at Candia, the above mentioned ser Angelus presented to me, Georgio Vataci, the above text, which he said was [written] in his own hand, [and] which he wanted to be his will. He requested me, after his death to draw it up in legal form with additions and the usual clauses. Witnesses: ser Petrus Sarentino, Micaletus Demilano and Galeacius Crassan. To be completed and handed over.

On the 6th day of November 1457 the priest Andreas Janizoplo confirmed on oath that the above text was written in the hand of the above mentioned Master Angelus Acontanto and said that he knew this, as the witness had seen other texts written by ser Angelus, which in his lifetime ser Angelus had given to the witness and this was how he recognised the handwriting of the said Master Angelus.

On the 8th day of the above-mentioned month, Ignatius Mezolatus, hieromonk, confirmed on oath that the letters written above were written in the hand of the above-mentioned Angelus, and he said he knew this, since he [lit. this witness] had seen many texts written by the above-mentioned Master Angelus.

The Art of Angelos

MARIA VASSILAKI

IN 1981, at the Sixth International Congress of Cretan Studies in Agios Nikolaos, I presented a working hypothesis which seemed particularly daring. To be specific, I maintained that the Cretan painter Angelos, known to us from a whole host of icons bearing the signature *XEIP ANΓEΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos), was not an artist of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as had been hitherto believed,¹ but that he should be identified with Angelos Akotantos, a Cretan painter from the first half of the fifteenth century. The latter was known only from his autograph will, which Manoussos Manoussakas had published in the journal of the Christian Archaeological Society in 1960–61.²

Using the information contained in the will I was able to identify the painter Angelos Akotantos, the testator, with the painter Angelos, who until then was known to us only by his first name.³ Indirect evidence from icons painted by Angelos can be cross-referenced with the direct evidence of the will. Firstly, it seems that Angelos was associated with the monastery of Valsamonero and with its abbot, Ionas Palamas, who initiated the construction and decoration of the chapel dedicated to St Phanourios. Angelos had painted the icons for the iconostasis in this chapel and, together with a great many other icons of this saint, he had also painted the special icon for the veneration of St Phanourios in this monastery that became the centre of his cult.⁴ Angelos Akotantos, too, was associated with the monastery at Valsamonero and with Ionas Palamas, leaving money in his will for a memorial service to be celebrated forty

days after his death by Ionas Palamas. Secondly, Angelos was associated with Sinai and with the metochion of St Catherine of the Sinaites in Candia. Icons painted by Angelos have been preserved on Sinai and there is an icon by him in the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos with the Sinaitic theme of St Catherine and the Virgin as the Burning Bush (cat.35). Akotantos left in his will money and his house to the monks of Sinai and their metochion in Candia. Finally, a decisive role in this identification was played by a tondo icon of St Catherine located at Skradin, Dalmatia (fig.20) that can be attributed to Angelos. A tondo icon of St Catherine is mentioned in Akotantos' will. Thus an icon mentioned in the will of Angelos Akotantos appears to be the work of the painter Angelos.

Father Mario Cattapan also seemed to believe that the painter Angelos and Angelos Akotantos were one and the same. Cattapan doubted whether all the icons bearing the signature *XEIP ANΓEΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos) could be the work of the artist who was believed to be active at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, and believed that most of these icons had been painted by Angelos Akotantos.⁵

It is almost thirty years since I presented that paper and its subsequent publication that same year in volume 18 of the journal *Thesaurismata*.⁶ In the intervening period the hypothesis regarding the shared identity of the painter Angelos and Angelos Akotantos has been accepted by most scholars concerned with Late Byzantine and post-Byzantine art,⁷ though,



Fig.20.

A tondo icon of St Catherine attributed to the painter Angelos, c.1425–50. Dalmatia, Skradin.

of course, some dissenting voices have been raised.⁸ But whether the theory was accepted or not, it now seems to be universally agreed that the painting of Angelos belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century and possibly more specifically to the second quarter of that century, that is to the years between 1425 and 1450.

In this chapter I intend to take another look at this painter's work, with the benefit of the detachment which comes with the passage of time. This desire to return to the subject is connected with the occasion of this exhibition.

Nowadays those of us who study Cretan painting are ever more conscious of the role Angelos played in shaping it. Everyone acknowledges that the painter was a quite outstanding artistic personality in the first half of the fifteenth century, someone who established and crystallised a large number of iconographic subjects in Cretan painting through his own work. It seems that a central role in his formation as an artist was played by the art of the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. The fact that his will tells us that a forthcoming trip to Constantinople was the reason for its being drawn up inclines us to think that he may have had first-hand knowledge of Constantinopolitan art. Yet at the same time it seems that Angelos could

have come into contact with the art of the capital indirectly through the work of Constantinopolitan painters who, as we know, had settled in Venetian-occupied Crete in the last decades of the fourteenth century.⁹ I find the idea that he was taught the art of painting by these very painters extremely attractive. But we have no evidence for this; and such a possibility is rendered even more remote by the fact that not a single signed work by a Constantinopolitan painter working in Candia has been identified to date, despite the fact that archival sources from the period suggest that they were extremely active. We might possibly attribute to one of these Constantinopolitan artists the illuminated manuscript W.335 of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, which according to its colophon was copied and painted in the city of Candia, being completed on 10 October 1415.¹⁰ There is an evident stylistic and iconographic affinity between the miniature of St John the Evangelist and Prochoros in the Baltimore manuscript (fig.21) and Angelos' icon of this same subject which is preserved in St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai (cat.40).¹¹ Icons painted by Angelos show both iconographic and stylistic similarities with other works of the early fifteenth century thought to have been produced in Crete and perhaps also by Constantinopolitan artists. As an example I would cite the icon with two military saints, George and Merkourios, from a private collection in Athens (cat.12). This particular icon, as Eva Haustein-Bartsch has shown, was part of a larger work, to which the now lost icon of St John the Evangelist with Prochoros also belonged.¹² The composition clearly recalls that of Angelos' icon at St Catherine's, Sinai.

The signature *XEIPATTEAOY* (Hand of Angelos) has been preserved on an impressive number of icons, and to those must be added a large number of icons attributed to him.¹³ This body of work, whether signed or simply attributed, poses a series of questions. First, why did he not sign all his icons? Second, why is his signed work so uneven in quality? And third, what technique allowed him to reproduce an



iconographic subject repeatedly in identical form?

With reference to the first of these questions, the absence of signatures on icons confidently attributed to Angelos is particularly noticeable in groups of despotic icons intended for the same templon. Nevertheless this does not account for all the unsigned works which we feel sure that Angelos painted.

As for the second question, that of the uneven quality observed in signed icons, I would propose the following explanation. I think it very likely that the signature *XEIP ATTEAOY* (Hand of Angelos) was used as the trademark of the Angelos workshop and thus not reserved exclusively for his own creations. And I would go further. Angelos' brother, Ioannis, as we know from the will and later documents, was also a painter.¹⁴ Yet not a single icon signed by him has come down to us. It is very reasonable to assume that the two brothers shared a workshop for producing icons and, that being the case, we may wonder whether the signature 'Hand of Angelos' might not conceal the hand of Ioannis too.

For an answer to the third question as to what technique Angelos used to reproduce iconographic subjects so exactly on icons, which sometimes even have precisely the same dimensions,¹⁵ we shall have to look in the text of the will itself. Here we find references among the tools of his trade to *τεσενιάσματα* (*teseniasmata*) and *σκιάσματα* (*skiasmata*), or in other words drawings (generally translated as *disegni*), which he was leaving, under certain preconditions, to his brother and fellow artist, Ioannis. I would also point to the well-known document of 1477 recording the sale, for what was a high price at that time, of 54 drawings of various saints to the Cretan painter Andreas Ritzos by Ioannis, by then an elderly and ailing man.¹⁶ As is well known, there is a note at the end of this same document indicating that eight days later the drawings were returned to the vendor, Ioannis Akotantos.

Technical analysis undertaken by the Benaki Museum Conservation Department has thrown light on Angelos' technique in making the preparatory

drawing for his icons.¹⁷ He would incise his composition first with a very sharp metal stylus and would then proceed to make a detailed drawing with a brush using dark liquid paint. The incised drawing may be a proof of the use of a pricked cartoon that would give the general outline of the composition. The painter, however, was revising the incised drawing while working on his composition.¹⁸

Now let us move on to another question. Angelos Akotantos' will clearly refers to the relationship between the painter and the abbot of the Valsamonero monastery, Ionas Palamas. Palamas' involvement in bringing the cult of St Phanourios to Crete led to the Valsamonero monastery becoming established as the saint's cult centre in Crete. It is clear that Angelos was entirely responsible for developing the iconography of St Phanourios, since all the extant fifteenth-century icons depicting the saint were painted by him.¹⁹ Some of them were intended for the templon in the chapel of St Phanourios in the Valsamonero monastery, which was decorated with other icons by the same artist. The extant icons by Angelos in the Vrontisi (cats 21, 30) and Hodegetria (cats 20, 25, 29, 34) monasteries show that both of these important Cretan monasteries were patrons of Angelos.

Outside Crete, icons painted by Angelos have been preserved in two great monastic centres: the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos and St Catherine's, Sinai. Recently I had the opportunity to examine at first hand both the icons signed by the artist and those attributed to him at St Catherine's. Of the signed icons, the one with St John and Prochoros (cat.40) stands out by virtue of the quality of the overall composition, while the Deesis is less powerfully executed.²⁰ Of the Sinai icons attributed to Angelos, the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (fig.22)²¹ is a very successful and vigorous small-scale composition, which recalls the corresponding signed icon formerly in the Loverdos Collection and now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (cat.32). It also seems likely that the Deesis in which

Fig.21.

A miniature with St John the Theologian and his disciple Prochoros, dated 1415. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum (W.335, fol.31r).



Fig.22.

Angelos (attributed), icon with the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, Sinai, monastery of St Catherine.

St Phanourios takes the place of St John the Baptist²² should be attributed to Angelos, although later repaintings have destroyed much of the icon's original splendour. And there are other icons at St Catherine's which can be attributed to Angelos, such as the one in which a Deesis is combined with a Holy Trinity, two large icons with Christ the High Priest and another of Christ Pantokrator.



Fig.23.

Icon with Hosios Christodoulos, Patmos, monastery of St John the Theologian.

Turning now to Patmos, it is well known that only two of Angelos' signed icons are preserved on the island. One is in the monastery of St John the Theologian and is an icon of the Virgin and Child with St Catherine (cat.35), while the other depicts St Phanourios (cat.17) and is in the Megali Panagia church in Chora, a private chapel just outside the monastery. A circular icon (tondo) with the Embrace of Peter and Paul (cat.26), which also belongs to the monastery of St John, has been attributed to Angelos. In preparing for the exhibition I visited Patmos in the company of Stergios Stassinopoulos, head of the Benaki Museum's Conservation Department, and we examined both the signed icons and those attributed to Angelos, as well as others which Manolis Chatzidakis had shown to have some affinity with Angelos' painting. It is clear that the icon of Hosios Christodoulos (fig.23) on the templon of the monastery's homonymous chapel, and even the icon of Christ King of Kings²³ on that same templon, contain many features associated with Angelos' painting and could be attributed to him. If we accept that these icons are the work of Angelos and his workshop, then we have a total of five icons connected with Patmos and the monastery of St John the Theologian.

And it would seem that Angelos' links with Patmos do not stop there. A series of wall paintings contain many of the special characteristics associated with Angelos' art. It is evident that these wall paintings, and especially the individual figures, are the work of an icon painter. The incredible detail in the depiction of the features of each figure, such as St Daniel the Stylite (fig.24) and St Alexios, Man of God, betrays the hand of a painter used to painting icons. This feeling is accentuated in the haloes, depicted in gold leaf, which is also used for detailing on the draperies of some of the figures, such as St Viktor. Compositions, such as that of the Parable of the Ten Wise Virgins (fig.25), include iconographic and stylistic features which recall the icon of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (cat.32) from the



Fig.24.
Wall painting with St Daniel
the Stylite. Patmos, monastery
of St John the Theologian.

Fig.25.
Wall painting with the Parable
of the Ten Wise Virgins (detail).
Patmos, monastery of St John
the Theologian.





Fig.26.
Wall painting of the Nativity.
Patmos, monastery of St John
the Theologian.

Loverdos Collection, signed by Angelos. The facial features of the ten Virgins in the wall painting, their hairstyles and diadems, and their draperies are all strongly reminiscent of the Virgin's companions who accompany her in the scene of the Presentation in the Temple on the icon from the Loverdos Collection. The wooden throne on which Christ the Bridegroom sits in the Parable of the Virgins is the same as the one used by Angelos in his *Deesis* compositions (cats 36, 46), with its trilobe back, the masks on the back, and the lions' heads and the red cushions on the seat and on the footstool. Christ's feet, clad in sandals, and the way in which they rest on the cushion on the footstool also recall compositions by Angelos. These wall paintings decorate the narthex of the katholikon of the Monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos. Many of these paintings are covered in a dense layer of soot, as is the inscription which can only just be made out at the springing of the arch over the main door leading from the narthex into the main church. Some of these wall

paintings were included in the fine colour illustrations of Chatzidakis' *Icons of Patmos*²⁴ and also in *Treasures of the Monastery of Patmos*, annotated by Elias Kollias.²⁵ The narthex is decorated with three large-scale compositions. On the right-hand side of the west wall there are scenes from the Nativity cycle (fig.26) and on the left is an imposing Massacre of the Innocents (fig.27). The south and east walls and part of the north wall together with the whole of the vault are covered by an immense Last Judgement. On the north wall, in addition to scenes from the Last Judgement we find the Parable of the Ten Wise Virgins, mentioned above. In the main church too there are mural paintings such as the Archangel Michael and St John the Evangelist with Prochoros, which appear to fit well with those in the narthex.

The view which I have advanced, linking the wall paintings in the narthex and perhaps also those in the main body of the church with the painter Angelos, is by no means fully developed as yet. Who knows how much important information may be hidden

Fig.27.
Wall painting with the
Massacre of the Innocents.
Patmos, monastery of St John
the Theologian.



in the soot-blackened inscription in the east end of the narthex vault above the main door? I have merely tried to show that Angelos was not an icon-painter alone but an accomplished fresco-painter too.

This allows me to conclude by observing that the more we study the work of Angelos, the more we realise how little we know about the artistic production of this painter.

- 1 This dating was based on an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in the monastery of St George in Old Cairo, which has since been destroyed in a fire. Mazarakis 1892, p.272; Strzygowsky 1895, pp 590–91.
- 2 Manoussakas 1960–61a, pp 139–51.
- 3 Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981.
- 4 Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81.
- 5 Cattapan 1977, pp 199–200.
- 6 Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp 290–98.
- 7 N. Chatzidakis in Athens 1983, p.17; Chatzidakis 1987, p.147; Chatzidakis 1985, in the revised Greek edition of 1995, p.116; Vocotopoulos 1990, p.15; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, pp

- 56–7; Baltoyanni, 1986, p.12; Cormack 1997a, pp 182–7.
- 8 Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2003, pp 499–508.
- 9 Cattapan 1968, pp 29–46, esp. 35, 37–8, 41–2; Cattapan 1972, pp 202–35, esp. 204; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009. See also chapter 5 of the present catalogue.
- 10 See also pp 61, 63, fig. 16 in the present catalogue.
- 11 Drandakis 1990, p.127, fig.80.
- 12 Hausteine-Bartsch, 2000, pp 11–28, figs 15, 22–3.
- 13 For the most complete list of his work, Chatzidakis 1987, pp 147–53.
- 14 Vassilaki 1997, pp 161, 195.
- 15 Vassilaki 2000; N. Chatzidakis 2006.
- 16 Cattapan 1972, pp 42–3, doc.no.4.

See also Kazanaki-Lappa 1993, p.458, doc.no.4.

- 17 Milanou *et al.* 2008.
- 18 Milanou *et al.* 2008, pp 28, 32, 36.
- 19 cats 17–23; Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp 223–38; Iráklion 1993, nos 94, 95, 122, 123 (M. Borboudakis).
- 20 Drandakis 1990, p.127, fig.77.
- 21 Drandakis 1990, fig.81.
- 22 Drandakis 1990, fig.78.
- 23 Chatzidakis 1985, no.15, pp 67–8, pls 19, 83.
- 24 Chatzidakis 1985, no.69, pp 117–19, pl.27.
- 25 Kollias 1988, pp 58–9, figs 1, 5–10.

8.

The Legacy of Angelos

NANO CHATZIDAKIS

THE CONTRIBUTION of the oeuvre of Angelos to crystallising the iconography of Cretan icons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has already been noted.¹ This painter is known to have frequently repeated the same subject with exactly the same iconography in more than one of his icons, while these subjects are encountered in a large number of icons by other painters, contemporary and later. It is known too that the painter Angelos introduced into Cretan painting new iconographic subjects, such as St Phanourios, St George on horseback killing the dragon, and the Embrace of Saints Peter and Paul,² while the hypothesis has been made that his icons were not only the model for representing the same subject by other Cretan painters but were also used for producing working drawings (*anthivola*).³ The influence of Angelos' work is indisputably great and extends on multiple levels, from the fifteenth into the eighteenth century.

The Painters of the Fifteenth Century:

Andreas and Nikolaos Ritzos, Nikolaos Tzafouris, Andreas Paviar and others

The influence of Angelos' icons during the fifteenth century was widespread and affected both iconography and style. It could be said that the known great painters of the period strove to reproduce iconographic types used by Angelos, as they considered that in this way they added value to their work. Analogous repetition of the same models is also observed in the works of other anonymous painters.

The fact that in 1477 Andreas Ritzos, the greatest painter in the second half of the fifteenth century, expressed interest in purchasing 54 drawings (*anthivola*) from Ioannis Akotantos, brother of the painter Angelos, as the document in the Venetian Archives attests,⁴ eloquently declares the exemplary value of Angelos' oeuvre.⁵ This is apparent also from the confirmed use of working drawings (*anthivola*) in some of Andreas Ritzos' best-known icons: the enthroned Christ Pantokrator in the Patmos icon (cat. 52)⁶ holds an open Gospel book, as in the icon by Angelos in Zakynthos (cat. 47); but his himation is deep blue, as in the Deesis by Angelos at the Agia Moni Viannou (cat. 46) (where he holds a closed Gospel-book), while his throne too is identical to that in the latter icon. However, the exact model of Ritzos' figure of the enthroned Christ Pantokrator is identified in Angelos' smaller icon of the Deesis in Sinai.⁷ In the enthroned Virgin and Child by Andreas Ritzos in Patmos⁸ there is a variation of the marble throne of Christ in the Zakynthos icon, with the same base but a different back, while the figure of the Virgin and Child with Christ at the centre of her body reproduces, in slight variation, the model of Angelos' icon of the Virgin Life-Receiving Spring (cat. 34) and the Virgin with St Catherine in Patmos (cat. 35).⁹ The use of Angelos' *anthivola* in works by Andreas Ritzos can be recognised also in the standing figure of St Nicholas on the border of the icon of the Ascension of Christ, in Tokyo (cat. 51),¹⁰ which is just the same

as in the icon by Angelos in Corfu (cat.48),¹¹ as well as in the icons attributed to him in the monastery of Gonia, Crete¹² and in Bari (fig.28),¹³ in which the saint is represented to the waist. Moreover, in the Bari tripartite icon the figure of St John the Theologian also follows the model of the icon by Angelos in Naxos (cat.42).¹⁴ St Catherine too, waist-length, on the border of the Tokyo icon,¹⁵ is represented in the same manner as in the Patmos icon and in the tondo at Skradin in Dalmatia.¹⁶ Lastly, in an icon of the Virgin Life-Receiving Spring by Andreas Ritzos,¹⁷ in the Sinai monastery, the type of the Hodegetria monastery icon signed by Angelos is repeated.¹⁸

Indirect evidence of the influence of Angelos' oeuvre is provided by the only known signed icon by Andreas' son, Nikolaos Ritzos, in Sarajevo (fig.29), where the central scene of the Deesis is a combination of two known models by Angelos (the Deesis in the Canellopoulos Museum (cat.36) and the icon of the same subject in Sinai). The Sarajevo icon possibly reproduces an unknown original work by his father Andreas,¹⁹ as is most probably the case also with the small scenes on the border, which are a synopsis of

the iconographic types of the scenes of the Dodekaorton used by Cretan painters during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.²⁰

Other Cretan painters too, better known for the western character of their works, remain faithful to Angelos' models in their traditional Byzantine icons. Nikolaos Tzafouris, in the Corfu Deesis (cat.56), uses the working drawing known to us from Angelos' icon of the Deesis in the Canellopoulos Museum (cat.36).²¹ Andreas Pavias, in the icon at the Campo Santo Teutonico (cat.54), Rome, painted Christ Pantokrator with a closed Gospel book, after the model of Christ in the Viannos Deesis (cat.46) and in the icon attributed to Angelos in Moscow (cat.45).²² Lastly, Angelos Bitzamanos (1467–1532), in his icon of St George on horseback,²³ in the Vatican, remains faithful to the model of the icon by Angelos, in the Benaki Museum (cat.37). An additional related testimony in the same direction comes from the illuminated manuscript (*Sticherarion* Sinai 1234 of the year 1469) of Ioannis Plousiadenos, the renowned pro-Unionist scholar who lived in Venice and was scribe and chief priest (*protopapas*) in Can-

Fig.28.

Tripartite icon attributed to Andreas Ritzos, second half of the 15th century, Bari, church of St Nicholas.





Fig.29. Nikolaos Ritzos, icon with the Deesis, Christological scenes and Saints, end of the 15th century, Sarajevo.

dia.²⁴ In this codex, as has been noted already,²⁵ the iconography of almost all the miniatures pre-exists in works either signed by Angelos, such as St Nicholas, St Peter and St Paul, or attributed to him, for example St Anne with the infant Virgin, St John the Theologian, St Symeon Theodochos (which is a synoptic representation of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple) and St Catherine.

Also worthy of note is the ascertainment that the painter Xenos Digenis, after his stay in Crete, transferred iconographic types by Angelos to the wall paintings in the Myrtia monastery (1491) in mainland Greece, where the scene of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the full-bodied figure of St Nicholas reproduce faithfully the models in icons by Angelos.²⁶

The Painters of the Sixteenth Century:
Theophanes, Euphrosynos and
Domenikos Theotokopoulos

Two great painters in the first half of the sixteenth century, Theophanes and Euphrosynos, continued to reproduce the models of icons by Angelos. The models of Angelos' Christ Pantokrator, with closed Gospel book and with open Gospel book, are identified in the icons by Theophanes for the iconostasis of the Stavronikita monastery (1546)²⁷ and the Lavra monastery (1535), as well as in the icon in the Iviron monastery that is attributed to him.²⁸ The full-length figure of the Virgin Kyriotissa (fig.30) in the Stavronikita monastery²⁹ reproduces the Kyriotissa by Angelos in the icon in Patmos (cat.35). The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, in the wall paintings of St Nicholas Anapafsas³⁰ and in the Lavra monastery, are the same in every element of the composition as in the icon by Angelos in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (cat.32), whereas the same subject in the Stavronikita monastery³¹ differs significantly, not only in the scale of the figures and the buildings, but also, primarily, in the position of the forefathers, who follow the young Virgin and do not precede her as in the icon by Angelos. Figures of soldier-saints which reproduce known models in icons by Angelos are encountered in the row of standing soldier-saints in St Nicholas Anapafsas, such as St Merkourios striking with his lance Julian the Apostate (fig.31),³² in the same pose as that of St Theodore Teron (cat.33) in the icon by Angelos in the Byzantine and Christian Museum. This subject is encountered on one of the two panels from a fifteenth-century polyptych in the Marianna Latsis Collection (cat.12),³³ while the figures of the two prophets David and Solomon on another panel of the same polyptych are encountered in exactly the same pose and attire in the wall paintings in the dome of the Stavronikita monastery.³⁴ Theophanes used the model of the icons of St Phanourios in Patmos and Pholegandros (cats 17, 19) for his



Fig.30.
Theophanes, wall painting
with the Virgin Kyriotissa,
1545/46. Mount Athos,
Stavronikita monastery.

St Theodore Teron in St Nicholas Anapafsas and for his St Victor and St Theodore Stratelates in the Stavronikita monastery.³⁵ They share the same restrained pose, with similar attire and accoutrements, and, primarily, the same round shield resting on the ground and with the device of a central mask projecting to the side. This shield, moreover, matches that in an icon of St Theodore Stratelates

in Zakynthos, which has been attributed to the painter Angelos.³⁶ A common model with the signed icon by Angelos in Sinai is observed also in Theophanes' representation of St John the Theologian and Prochoros in front of the cave, in St Nicholas Anapafsas and in the Stavronikita monastery³⁷. Furthermore, in the latter monastery, in the scene of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, divided on different surfaces,³⁸ St Symeon Theodochos is represented alone and just the same as in the Siphnos icon attributed to Angelos³⁹ – although he is not embracing the infant Christ, since he turns his head back, towards the Virgin. Lastly, included in the wall paintings of the Refectory of the Lavra monastery is the subject of Christ 'the Vine', with similar iconography – namely the Apostles in bust – as in the known icons by Angelos (cats 28–30),⁴⁰ while St Peter and St Paul, standing and confronted, are included in the wall paintings of the Stavronikita monastery, and in Embrace are known only from a sketch at the base of the dome in the Great Meteoron monastery.⁴¹

In the icons by the painter Euphrosynos in the Great Deesis of the Dionysiou monastery (1542), the influence of Angelos is ubiquitous.⁴² Christ Pantokrator⁴³ with closed Gospel book (fig. 32) follows the model of Christ in the Deesis in the Viannos monastery, St John the Theologian conforms to the model of the Naxos icon,⁴⁴ while the figures in bust of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in the same ensemble,⁴⁵ recall in the iconographic type of the face that used by Angelos in his icons with the Embrace of the two Apostles.

The influence on the work of these painters active in the first half of the sixteenth century appears to be more generalised also at the level of style. The serious face of the Virgin in Theophanes' wall painting of 'The Prophets from Above' in St Nicholas Anapafsas⁴⁶ is the same as that of the Virgin Life-Receiving Spring by Angelos, in the Hodegetria monastery; while figures of youthful soldier-saints⁴⁷ bring to



Fig. 31.
Theophanes, wall painting
with St Merkourios, 1527.
Meteora, monastery of St
Nicholas Anapafsas.

mind the countenance of St Phanourios, and the elderly figures of the prophets⁴⁸ are reminiscent in ethos and severity of the signed icon of the Prophet Elijah in Naxos (cat. 41). However, this influence is apparent to a greater extent in the works by Euphrosynos, with the profoundly meditative figures of the Apostles, in which the dense modelling of the flesh – as of Christ Pantokrator and of Saints Peter and Paul in the same ensemble – recall the ethos of their figures in icons by Angelos.

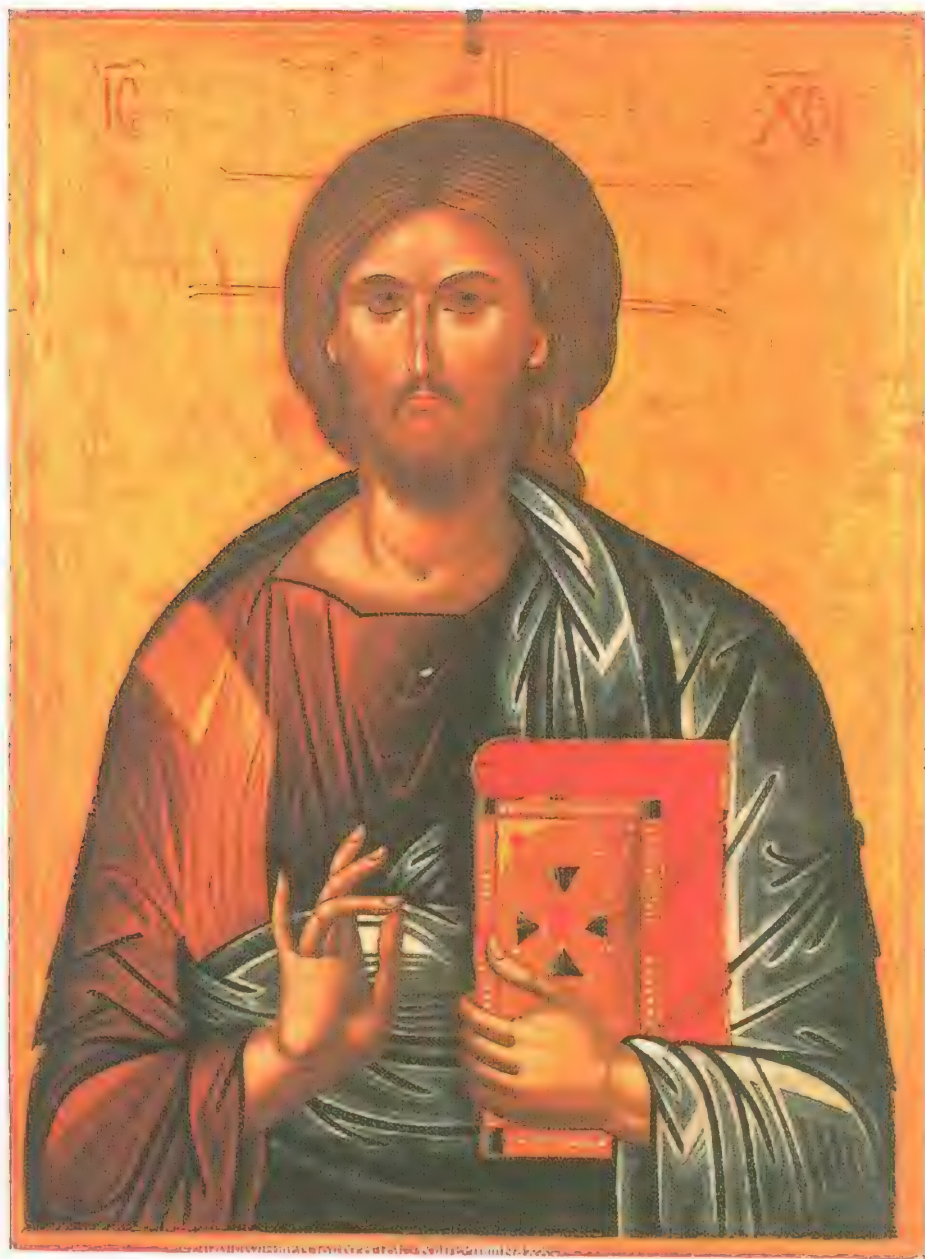


Fig.32.
Euphrosynos, icon of Christ
Pantokrator, c. 1540. Mount
Athos, Dionysiou monastery.

Finally, Angelos' influence is recognised in the inclination of certain Cretan painters, once they had established their reputation, to sign their work using only their Christian name – as Theophanes did in the Lavra monastery, Euphrosynos did on the icons in the Dionysiou monastery, and Domenikos Theotokopoulos (dubbed 'El Greco') did on the known icons of the Evangelist Luke, the Adoration of the Magi and the Modena triptych, which belong to the painter's Cretan period.⁴⁹

Michael Damaskenos and Georgios Klontzas

The two great and prolific sixteenth-century painters, Michael Damaskenos and Georgios Klontzas, were fascinated by innovation and with ample ability created new types, while they rendered in new manners the established thematic repertoire, following in the majority of their works the currents of Italian Mannerism. In the few works of conservative character by Damaskenos he follows established fifteenth-century models and imitates their style, such as the icons of Christ Pantokrator, Christ Great High Priest and the Virgin Hodegetria in Corfu, as well as in icons of single saints, such as St Anthony in the icon in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.⁵⁰ Of the known works of conservative character by Georgios Klontzas, the enthroned Virgin in Zakynthos⁵¹ displays a distant dependence on the model of the Virgin and Child in the Hodegetria icon of the Virgin Life-Receiving Spring and in the Patmos icon of the Virgin and St Catherine by Angelos, although in terms of style it moves away significantly from these. This is the case too with the works by Michael Damaskenos, where these reproduce known models of icons by Angelos, which can be recognized, in the figure of Christ with open Gospel book, as in the icon in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (Loverdos Collection).⁵² Models from icons by Angelos are also encountered in the rendering of St John the Baptist in a signed icon by Damaskenos in Zakynthos, the difference being that Christ is projected within pale-blue cloud;⁵³ and in the Prophet Elijah in front of the Cave, in the well-known icon in the Stavronikita monastery,⁵⁴ which faithfully follows the model of the icon by Angelos in Naxos. Concurrently, the confronted full-length Apostles Peter and Paul on the sanctuary doors in Zakynthos⁵⁵ could be considered a faint echo of the subject's success in the icons by Angelos; while in the two-zone icon in Patmos (cat. 59) with the Presentations of the Virgin and of Christ in the Temple,⁵⁶ the arrangement of the figures in the Presentation of the Virgin follows the model

of Angelos' icon but the buildings and the gestures are radically removed from it.

Lastly, the lateral buildings in Angelos' icon of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple are encountered with minimal differentiations in the icon of the Dormition of the Virgin by Domenikos Theotokopoulos in Syros (cat.63).⁵⁷

The Painters of the Seventeenth Century:

Emmanuel Lambardos, Victor, Emmanuel Tzanes, Ilias Moschos and others

The models established in fifteenth-century Cretan icons return in the works of certain seventeenth-century painters. Emmanuel Lambardos, well known for the conservative character of his painting in most of his icons, returns frequently to established fifteenth-century models and it was he who used more than anyone else the models in icons by Angelos. Outstanding among these are three important images: St John the Baptist in the icon in Corfu,⁵⁸ and in an icon attributed to him in the Canellopoulos Museum;⁵⁹ St John the Theologian and Prochoros in front of the Cave, in his icon in Venice (cat.60);⁶⁰ and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (cat.61).⁶¹ In these works Lambardos follows the models of Angelos' icons to such a degree that it could be said that he had in his possession working drawings (*anthivola*) from these icons. In an icon of St George on horseback,⁶² he adds the little child and the princess. Lastly, in his icon of St Nicholas enthroned in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, the carved wooden throne copies the throne in the Deesis by Angelos, in the Agia Moni Viannou.⁶³

The painter Constantinos Palaiokappas, in his icon with the Embrace of Peter and Paul (1640) in the Karakallou monastery, follows in the square format the model of the icon in the Ashmolean Museum that is attributed to Angelos;⁶⁴ while Zacharias Tzangaropoulos, in the icon of St George on horseback in Siphnos (1635), also follows the model of Angelos' icon in



Fig.33.
Emmanuel Tzanes, icon of St
Nicholas, 1683. Athens,
Velimezis Collection.

the Benaki Museum (cat.37), with additions of the princess and the child on the rump of the steed.⁶⁵

The painter Victor,⁶⁶ whose oeuvre frequently copies models by Michael Damaskenos, also follows models by Angelos. The full-length figure of St Nicholas in the Philosophou monastery has the same deportment and the same garments as in the icon by Angelos in Corfu (cat.48); while in the pair icon of

the full-length St Anne,⁶⁷ her type is the same as that in the Benaki Museum icon attributed to Angelos (cat.44). Victor repeats Angelos' model also in an icon of St John the Baptist, in the Sinai monastery.⁶⁸

Emmanuel Tzanes, who more often created icons based on western prints and engravings, is distinguished also for his correspondingly faithful copying of models by Angelos among his few works of conservative character. In one of the two icons he painted for the iconostasis of the church of St Philothei, in Athens, in 1664, Christ Pantokrator seated on a marble throne (cat.62) is similar to the icon by Angelos in Zakynthos (cat.47),⁶⁹ with the addition of the symbols of the Evangelists, a subject repeated also in Tzanes' icon in Arta, of 1678.⁷⁰ In his icon of St John the Baptist in Corfu (1673),⁷¹ he follows faithfully the model in the icon by Angelos in the Byzantine and Christian Museum. The large icon of the Virgin Kardiotissa in Venice, with the coat of arms of the nobleman Ioannis Menganos,⁷² also follows the model of the Byzantine and Christian Museum icon (cat.31) in every detail, while his St Nicholas in the Velimezis collection (fig.33), in different prelatic vestments, has the same features, deportment and pose as the St Nicholas by Angelos in the Corfu icon (cat.48).⁷³

Ilias Moschos, another painter from Rethymnon who worked on Zakynthos, reproduces more faithfully than Tzanes the model of the icon of the enthroned Christ Pantokrator by Angelos,⁷⁴ without the addition of the symbols of the Evangelists, in an icon (1653) in the Recklinghausen Museum – a work which, in contrast to most of his icons, is of a conservative character.

The Painters of the Eighteenth Century: Nikolaos Kallergis and the Painters of Zakynthos

In an icon with the standing figure of St Theodore slaying the dragon,⁷⁵ attributed to Nikolaos Kallergis (1699–1747), it is ascertained that this painter from Zakynthos⁷⁶ – who is well known for his copies of earlier Cretan icons – reproduced with remarkable

fidelity the iconography of this saint in the icon by Angelos in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (cat.33). In an icon of St George as dragon-slayer⁷⁷ Kallergis reproduces a variation of the model, copying another fifteenth-century Cretan icon of St George, which is in Zakynthos.⁷⁸

Reference should also be made to one icon of large dimensions,⁷⁹ now in the Metropolitan Palace in Zakynthos, in which the Virgin Kardiotissa, with the Christ Child in her right arm, follows the model of the icon by Angelos in the Byzantine and Christian Museum. The Virgin and Child are painted conspicuously as an 'emblem' at the centre of the eighteenth-century icon, within an elliptical tondo held by two archangels – occupying the position where in earlier representations of the Synaxis of the Archangels they would usually hold a medallion containing the figure of Christ Emmanuel. The icon comes from the church of St Barbara, which was founded by the priest Constantinos Korkos, and shows more than any other work the longevity of the appeal of an iconographic type that was established in Cretan painting by Angelos' work.

Conclusions

It is evident from the preceding review that the work of the painter Angelos was copied by contemporary and later painters more than that of any other Cretan painter. Very few of the subjects in the icons signed by him have not been reproduced faithfully by other Cretan painters. It should be noted in particular that the great stylistic affinity that several fifteenth-century works display with icons by Angelos allows their attribution either to this painter himself or to his workshop. The repetition of Angelos' iconographic models by Andreas Ritzos and the other known painters of the second half of the fifteenth century shows that his oeuvre was quickly and easily elevated to the status of exemplar among them, while the repetition of the models of his icons by Theophanes and Euphrosynos, and later by Emmanuel Lambardos

and Emmanuel Tzanes, shows that the paradigmatic value of his oeuvre was of long duration. It is also worth noting that the repetitions of fifteenth-century models in works by Michael Damaskenos include also models of icons by Angelos, while the adoption of elements of the buildings from his icons is evident too, but to a lesser extent, in the Dormition of the Virgin by Domenikos Theotokopoulos, in Syros. Great too is the dissemination of the iconography of works by Angelos among now anonymous Cretan painters from the second half of the fifteenth into the seventeenth century. However, it is not known if in these cases the repetition of the established iconography was not part of the practices imposed by the craft production of icons in large quantities during this period.

The number of icons signed by Angelos or attributed to his workshop is large, and their thematic repertoire includes primarily single figures of the Virgin and of various saints, as well as the subject of the Deesis.⁸⁰ Strangely, only two iconographic types of the Virgin are known as an independent subject in his signed works – the Kardiotissa and the Life-Giving Source – while the figure of the full-length Virgin and Child in the type of the Kyriotissa is painted next

to St Catherine in the icon in Patmos.⁸¹ However, the exact iconographic type of the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in the church of St George in Cairo, known only from the records by Strzygowsky (1895, 1904) and Amantos (1928), eludes us,⁸² as does the iconographic type of the image of the Virgin that is attested in documents in Venice.⁸³ Limited too is the number of surviving scenes in known signed works by Angelos. Only the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, in the icon in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (cat. 32), is signed;⁸⁴ while one other scene, the Nativity of Christ, is known only from mention of it in a document of Andreas Pavius.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that the works by Angelos known today are surely but a small part of his output. Consequently, we should ask how many icons by Angelos have been lost and how many are still unknown? We should ask too, how many of the known scenes in the works of painters who demonstrably repeated fifteenth-century models and indeed from icons by Angelos – such as Andreas and Nikolaos Ritzos, as well as Theophanes, to name only the most important – come from models of icons by Angelos so far unknown?

1 Relevant observations have been made by most researchers on Cretan icons. See recently, Vassilaki 1995, pp 34ff, 40–41, and Vassilaki 2000, pp 195–206 with earlier bibliography; see also N. Chatzidakis 1982–3, especially pp 174–7; N. Chatzidakis 1994, pp 62ff; N. Chatzidakis 2003, pp 248–9.

2 See n. 1, as well as Athens 1983, p. 11 and nos 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14 (N. Chatzidakis); see also collected examples by subject in Chatzidakis 1987, pp 147–53.

3 Such as St George on horseback, the Embrace of Peter and Paul, and the Deesis: Vassilaki 1991b, pp 46ff; Vassilaki 1990a, p. 415, figs 6–9; Vassilaki 1995, pp 34ff, and pp 40–1;

Vassilaki, 2000b, p. 195, figs 1–4; recently N. Chatzidakis 2006, pp 283–95 (with earlier bibliography).

4 Cattapan 1968, p. 32; Cattapan 1973, doc. no. 19, pp 246–7, 251, 262.

5 These *anithivola* do not seem to include scenes but were only of figures of various saints of the Greek Church (*figurarum diversorum Sanctorum grece*): Cattapan 1973, doc. no. 19, p. 262.

6 Chatzidakis 1985, pp 60–61, no. 9, pl. 13.

7 The throne in the Sinai icon has simpler decoration: N. Chatzidakis 2006, pp 287ff, figs 10–11.

8 Chatzidakis 1985, no. 10, p. 61, pl. 12; see also Chatzidakis 1974a, pp 178–9.

9 Chatzidakis 1985, no. 68, pp 116–17, pls 49, 127.

10 Vocotopoulos 2005b, pl. on p. 54.

11 Vocotopoulos 1987, pp 410–14, pls 67–8.

12 Iráklion 1993, no. 164, p. 518 (M. Borboudakis).

13 Chatzidakis 1974a, p. 178, n. 28; Bari 1988, no. 43, pp 138–9 (C. Gelao).

14 Chatzidakis 1987, p. 150, no. 20, fig. 10.

15 Vocotopoulos 2005b, pl. on p. 54; see also in similar type in the icon of the Virgin with Angels, in the Benaki Museum: Athens 1983, no. 18, pp 29–30 (N. Chatzidakis).

16 Chatzidakis 1985, no. 68, pp 116–17, pl. 49; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp 290–98, pl. IH.

- 17 Chatzidakis 1985, p.147, pl.204β, with added buildings.
- 18 Iráklion 1993, no.117, pp 473-4 (M. Borboudakis).
- 19 N. Chatzidakis 2006, p.291, fig.13.
- 20 Vocotopoulos 2005a, passim and p.225.
- 21 N. Chatzidakis 2006, p.286, fig.6.
- 22 Rome, Camposanto Teutonico: Vocotopoulos 2005b, pl. on p.43; Moscow, Pushkin Museum: Iráklion 1993, no.85, pp 435-7 (O. Etinhof).
- 23 Bianco-Fiorin 1984, pp 90-91, figs 6-7; Vassilaki 1991b, p.48; Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, p.293, fig.196.
- 24 Vocotopoulos 2001, pp 87-101.
- 25 Vocotopoulos 2001, p.101.
- 26 See most recently Agrevi 2010 (in print).
- 27 Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig.46; for 'Theophanes' recourse to the iconography of fifteenth-century Cretan icons, see in general Chatzidakis 1986, pp 63-70.
- 28 Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig.45; Thessaloniki 1997, no.2.41, p.112 (E. Tsigaridas).
- 29 Chatzidakis 1986, fig.6.
- 30 Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, fig.223.
- 31 Chatzidakis 1986, p.68, fig.132.
- 32 Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, fig. 236.
- 33 Kazanaki-Lappa 2000, pp 29-38, fig.24.
- 34 Kazanaki-Lappa 2000, figs 25, 32-5.
- 35 Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, fig.239; Chatzidakis 1986, figs 162, 167.
- 36 Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, fig.5, pp 59-61.
- 37 Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, figs 158-9; Chatzidakis 1986, fig.34.
- 38 Chatzidakis 1986, figs 85, 109; the Christ Child is at a distance also in St Nicholas Anapafsas: Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, fig.197.
- 39 For the Siphnos icon, see N. Chatzidakis 2003, pp 243-54, figs 1, 5.
- 40 Millet 1927, pl.150.2; Yiannias 1991, p.273, fig.4.23; the wall paintings have been attributed to Theophanes by Chatzidakis: Chatzidakis 1969-70, pp 317-22; for the pro-Unionist symbolism and the dissemination of the subject of 'Christ the Vine' in post-Byzantine painting see Mantas 2003, pp 347-59, figs 1-2, 4-10.
- 41 Chatzidakis 1986, fig.221; Chatzidakis 1969-70, fig.112.
- 42 Thessaloniki 1997, p.117 (E. Tsigaridas).
- 43 Chatzidakis 1956, fig.XXII; Thessaloniki 1997, no.2.44, pp 116-7 (E. Tsigaridas).
- 44 It occurs also in the *Sticherarion* of Plousiadenos and in a series of other examples from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: see Vocotopoulos 2001, pp 90-91, fig.2.
- 45 Chatzidakis 1956, fig.2.
- 46 Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, fig.266.
- 47 Anapafsas: Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, figs 237-8; Stavronikita: Chatzidakis 1986, pp 139-40, 151, 153, 165.
- 48 Sofianos and Tsigaridas 2003, figs 150, 152, 155; Lavra: Chatzidakis 1969-70, figs 24-5, 27-8; Stavronikita: Chatzidakis 1986, figs 26, 28, 32, 107-8, 115.
- 49 Chatzidakis 1964, pp 149-50; Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, p.382.
- 50 Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.53, p.178.
- 51 Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, no.20, p.102.
- 52 Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.51, p.174.
- 53 Acheimastou-Potamianou, 1998a, no.22, pp 107-9; Mylona 1998, no.90, pp 232-3.
- 54 Chatzidakis 1987, no.10, p.243, fig.105; Thessaloniki 1997, no.2.73, pp 142-3 (E. Tsigaridas).
- 55 Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, no.23, pp 110-12.
- 56 Chatzidakis 1985, no.60, pl.39.
- 57 Acheimastou-Potamianou 1995, fig.3.
- 58 Vocotopoulos 1990, no.52, pp 77-8, fig.171.
- 59 N. Chatzidakis and Scampavias 2007, no.154, pp 314-15 (N. Chatzidakis).
- 60 Chatzidakis 1962, no.55, pl.42.
- 61 Athens 1984, no.24, p.37 (N. Chatzidakis).
- 62 Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, p.143, fig.75.
- 63 Athens 1997, no.16, pp 62-3.
- 64 Vassilaki 1990a, pp 421-2, fig.16.
- 65 Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, p.407, fig.309; Aliprantis 1979, pl.17.
- 66 For the painter, see Chatzidakis 1987, pp 147-54.
- 67 Vocotopoulos 1987-8, p.247, pl.12, pp 246-7, pl.11.1.
- 68 Drandakis 1990, pp 131ff, fig.101.
- 69 Drandakis 1962, pp 96-7, 122-5, pl.38 α-β; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.73, p.232.
- 70 Papatheophanous-Tsouri 1981, pp 234-43.
- 71 Vocotopoulos 1990, no.85, pp 122-3, fig.233.
- 72 Maltezou 1973, pp 283-5, 288, pl.Θ'-IA'.
- 73 N. Chatzidakis 1998, no.30, pp 276ff, fig.167; see also St Spyridon in the icon of large dimensions in the Museo Correr, Venice (1636), with comparable comportment and pose, Drandakis 1962, pl.1.
- 74 Charleroi 1982, no.39.
- 75 Mylona 1998, no.127, pp 300-301.
- 76 N. Chatzidakis 1998, pp 351-2 with examples and bibliography.
- 77 Mylona 1998, no.123, pp 292-3.
- 78 Mylona 1998, no.82, pp 216-17.
- 79 Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.54, p.194.
- 80 See catalogue which includes 44 icons and 19 subjects: Chatzidakis 1987, pp 147-54.
- 81 Also attributed to him are the icons of the Virgin Glykophilousa in Naxos and Zakynthos: Chatzidakis 1987, p.151, no.27; Vocotopoulos 1994, pp 350ff; Baltoyanni 1994, no.22, pp 88-9; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.8, p.68.
- 82 Strzygowsky 1895, p.591 and Strzygowsky 1904, p.116; Amantos 1928, p.58; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, p.292; Chatzidakis 1987, no.25, pp 147, 151.
- 83 Tselenti 1992, pp 617-29.
- 84 (Attributed) the Pentecost and the Raising of Lazarus in an icon in Pholegandros in Chatzidakis 1987, p.152, no.33 (without photograph); the Appearance of Christ to the Myrrh-Bearing Women in the icon with the Miracle of St Phanourios (cat.20), from the Hodegetria monastery in Chatzidakis 1987, p.153, no.39; the Lamentation in the Recklinghausen Museum in Charleroi 1982, no.4; the western Pietà (cat.49) in the Museo Correr, Venice in Venice 1993, no.35, p.148 with earlier bibliography.
- 85 Cattapan 1977, document no.15, pp 203-15.



CATALOGUE TO PART II



Angelos

St Phanourios

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
111 × 62.5 × 2.8 cm
Candia, Crete
Patmos, Chora, Megali Panagia church

Literature: Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, p.230, pl.52b; Athens 1983, no.6, p.22 (N. Chatzidakis); Chatzidakis 1985, no.69, pp.117–19, pl.27; Chatzidakis 1987, p.152, no.36, fig.15; Kollias 2004, p.285, fig.1; Milanou et al. 2008, *passim*.

ST PHANOURIOS is depicted full-length, in almost frontal pose, stepping on the body of a slain dragon. He is in military attire, with a short, sleeved tunic of chain mail, over which a breastplate with epaulettes is tied on the arms with three straps. The breastplate is divided horizontally into three parts, each lavishly patterned in gold. His leggings are pale orange with two greyish-green appliques below the knees, and the greaves off-white with three vertical grooves in cinnabar, two of which are fully visible. Cast over his shoulder is a red mantle, tied in a knot at the left side and falling behind on the back. In his right hand the saint holds his spear diagonally in front of his chest, while his left, in which he holds a cross topped by a lighted candle, rests on his shield, the device of which is a mask in profile. In the background are two diagonally placed rocky mountains. In the top left corner, the hand of God blessing the saint projects from two concentric, gold-rayed quadrants. The saint's name, *Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ* (St Phanourios), is written in red majuscule letters on the gold ground. Preserved in the bottom left corner, below the dragon's head, is the painter's signature: *ΧΕΙΡΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos). Discernible over the entire surface of the gold ground are scratches made by the painter on the wooden panel of the icon, for the better adherence of the gesso priming of the painted surface. The icon, with its integral wooden frame, is placed on the icon-stand in the Megali Panagia church.

The stylistic rendering of the saint displays

all the traits of Angelos' art: the finely worked facial features, the dark under-layer illumined by highlights of fine parallel white lines forming a mesh over the entire countenance.

Characteristic too of Angelos' art is the way in which the vertical line of the nose is denoted, in order to create an effect of shadow. The hair is luxuriant, in a lovely chestnut brown, with locks in tones of olive brown. Successive highlights model the planes of the mountains in the background, with the barely perceptible vegetation.

The earliest surviving icons of St Phanourios, either bearing the signature of the painter Angelos (cat.17, 19, 21) or attributed to him (cat.18, 23), reveal clearly the painter's special role in establishing the iconographic type of the standing, full-length image of this saint, with or without a dragon underfoot. Other representations of St Phanourios – enthroned and stepping on the dragon (cat.22), conversing with Christ (cat.19), and of his miracles (cats 20, 21) – attest that the painter Angelos is linked with all the iconographic variations of this saint. It is highly possible that this was the result of his collaboration with the abbot of the Valsamonero monastery and donor of the chapel dedicated to St Phanourios (1426–31), Ionas Palamas (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp.227–8). The Valsamonero monastery was the centre of the cult of St Phanourios in Crete, although the icons from the Hodegetria monastery indicate that it also played a role in the veneration of this saint on the island.

This icon of St Phanourios is a composition of pronounced Late Byzantine character. Many of its iconographic and stylistic elements echo those of the soldier-saints depicted in the wall paintings of the parekklesion in the Chora monastery (c.1315–20), Constantinople. For example, the way in which the saint stands, in slight three-quarter turn with the body perfectly balanced; the spear he holds diagonally in front of his chest; the type of breastplate; the leggings and the greaves – all are identical to those of the soldier-saints in the parekklesion of Chora (Underwood 1966, vol.3, pls 488–9, 492–500). Similarities are noted also in the modelling of the figures, with the dark under-layer, the generous features and the white parallel lines, which highlight the face. Angelos' composition bears a particularly strong similarity to the panel of St George and

St Merkourios, which belongs to a composite icon (polyptych?), dated to the early 15th century (cat.12).

According to the hagiological texts, St Phanourios 'was discovered' in Rhodes around the mid-14th century, through an icon on which the hitherto unknown saint was depicted. The earliest reference to this 'discovery' of the icon as well as of the saint himself as recorded in the codex Vat.gr.1190 of the Vatican Library, dated 1542 (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp.224–6). The transfer of the saint's cult from Rhodes to Crete is associated with the miracle of the liberation of four Cretan priests who had sailed to Coron in the Peloponnese for their ordination and on the voyage home were captured by Turkish pirates and taken to Asia Minor. In an effort to free them, the monk Ionas went from Crete to Rhodes, where, with the help of St Phanourios, three of the four priests (one had already been put to death) were released. The Vatican codex goes on to recount that the monk Ionas, on his return to Crete with the priests, took with him an icon of St Phanourios. The manuscript does not identify the monk Ionas with Ionas Palamas, the abbot of the Valsamonero monastery and donor of the chapel of St Phanourios. Indeed, the mention of the name of the Metropolitan of Rhodes, Neilos, in the text enables the dating of the miracle to around 1360 (Zachariadou 1964, pp.309–18, especially pp.316–17).

The close iconographic similarities between St Phanourios and St George have prompted some doubts on the former's historical validity (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81). The principal quality of St Phanourios, to reveal, is also a quality of St George. Furthermore, the absence of a church dedicated to St Phanourios in the city of Rhodes, prior to the mid-20th century, or of an old icon of him on the island (Kollias 2004) reinforces the doubts and generates suspicion that the connection of St Phanourios with Rhodes was an invention of the Cretans, in order to endow with plausibility – which was difficult to check – a saint that they themselves had created.

MARIA VASSILAKI





Angelos (attributed)

St Phanourios

Second quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

90 x 51.5 cm

Candia, Crete

Iraklion, Collection of St Catherine of the Sinaites
from the Hodegetria monastery, inv.no.043

Conservation: N. Kailas, 14th Ephorate of Byzantine
Antiquities.

Literature: Vassilakes-Mavriakakis 1980–81, p.231, pl.57a;
Iraklion 1993, no.95, pp.448–9 (M. Borboudakis) (with
earlier bibliography; New York 2009, no.8, p.51 (M.
Vassilaki).

THIS ICON has been cut off on the lower and the right side. The young St Phanourios is depicted standing, in almost frontal pose, with a slight turn of his body to the left. Dressed in military attire, he holds a long spear in the right hand and with his left steadies a shield resting on the ground. A large part of the shield has been severed, as has most of the cross he held in the same hand and which would have been topped by a lighted candle. The saint treads upon a dragon, the greater part of which was lost when the lower side of the icon was cut off. The icon of St Phanourios from the church of the Megali Panagia in the Chora of Patmos (cat.17), which carries the signature of the painter Angelos and preserves intact the representation of his figure, is of help in reconstructing the truncated composition of the icon shown here.

Although there is no signature on the icon, it can be attributed confidently to Angelos, with whose works it displays both iconographic and stylistic affinities. It is possible that this icon also originally carried the signature of Angelos, in the familiar type

XEIP ATTEAOY, in the lower right corner, but that it disappeared when the lower and the right side of the panel were trimmed – in order that it would fit in the intercolumniation of an iconostasis of smaller dimensions than the one for which it had been made.

The role of Angelos in establishing the iconographic type of St Phanourios was decisive, as attested by the surviving works, almost all of which are signed by Angelos or attributed to him. The fact that the provenance of at least two icons of St Phanourios (cats 18, 20) is the Hodegetria monastery at Kainourio, in the south of the present prefecture of Heraklion, indicates that the cult of this saint had spread here too and not only in the Valsamonero monastery. This may, perhaps, be linked also with the presence of Angelos in the Hodegetria monastery, as borne out by the ensemble of despotic icons adorning the iconostasis of its katholikon, which either carry his signature or are attributed to him (cat.25, 29, 34).

MARIA VASSILAKI

Angelos

St Phanourios

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood, primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

79.5 × 49 × 5 cm

Candia, Crete

Pholegandros, Chora, church of St Phanourios and St Catherine, inv.no.37

Conservation: M. Michailidou, 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, 2003–4

Literature: Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp 231–2, cl.57b; Chatzidakis 1985, p.118; Chatzidakis 1987, p.152

THE YOUTHFUL saint, his face framed by wavy hair parted in the middle and falling behind the ears, is identified by an inscription in red majuscule letters on the gold ground: *Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟΣ) ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ* (St Phanourios).

St Phanourios, in frontal pose, stands triumphant over a monstrous dragon. He holds a long spear diagonally in his right hand, while his left rests on a large round shield decorated with a mask, visible in profile, and holds a large cross with three arms, ending in a lighted candle. He wears richly ornamented military uniform: a deep red tunic with sleeves and side slits, folded back to reveal a green lining; a luxurious metal breastplate with geometric designs on gold ground; and a long red mantle falling from the shoulders and folded over behind his right arm. His waist is cinched by a narrow red belt, from which would have hung a quiver with arrows. On his feet are high brown boots. Below, the green dragon – spiky, horned and with long sinuous tail – rears its head. Its enormous mouth is wide open, revealing sharp white fangs and horrific, lolling scarlet tongue. The landscape is indicated by two brown, triangular, faceted rocky mountains and small green plants, symmetrically framing the figure of the saint. Bottom right is the signature of the painter in black capital letters: *ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos). Top left, within a blue quadrant, projects the hand of Christ in blessing.

St Phanourios is depicted with the particu-

lar portrait features and the iconographic traits of the triumphant soldier-saint, trampling the defeated dragon and holding a cross and a lighted candle. As described in cat no.17, his cult was allegedly transferred from Crete to Rhodes in the 14th to 15th century. (Zachariadou 1964; Kollias 2004). However, research has shown that St Phanourios is none other than a 'modified' St George, adopting not only his epithet – Phaneromenos, Phanerotes, Phanourios – but also his iconography (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81). The dragon in the iconography of St Phanourios is mentioned in a *sticheron* of the saint (Eustratiades 1935, p.458), while his military attire and the cross with a lighted candle are taken from his *synaxarion*.

A two-sided icon by Angelos (cat.21) in the Valsamonero includes scenes with St Phanourios on one side and a full-length representation of the triumphant saint on the other. The iconography of the saint is reproduced unchanged in an icon in the Megali Panagia church on Patmos, which too is signed by Angelos (cat.17). This is the same iconographic type as in the icon here, which is included among the most representative works of the painter and the earliest images of St Phanourios. A fourth icon of St Phanourios, from the Hodegetria monastery in Crete (cat.18), is attributed to Angelos on stylistic grounds and presents a minor variation in the pose of this particular iconographic type of the saint. It appears that the iconographic type of St Phanourios was elaborated and crystallised by Angelos.

This icon also displays all the stylistic traits of Cretan art in the first half of the 15th century, plus the particular characteristics of the art of Angelos: the masterly perfection in the soft modelling of the face, with subtle gradations of olive-green shadow and roseate flesh tones, as well as a mesh of white, very fine and successively broader highlights; the penchant for detail, the rich and refined designs incised with consummate precision; and lastly, the saint's proud posture, with the slightly affected pose and the melancholy gaze, imparting an academic character to the work.

The icon comes from the church dedicated to St Phanourios and St Catherine in Chora on the island of Pholegandros. The two-aisled, flat-roofed basilica forms a complex with the

aisleless domed church of St Anthony and stands outside and to the south of the burg (Castro) of Pholegandros, in which Chora developed (Ziro 1982). According to an inscription, the church of St Anthony was renovated by Antonios Mamounakos in 1709, while local tradition has it that the two-aisled church of St Phanourios was built around 1720, although the architectural type permits an earlier dating (Ziro 1982, pp 337, 339, 343). The north aisle is dedicated to St Phanourios and the icon is placed at the south edge of the plain wooden iconostasis. On the same iconostasis are another two despotic icons of Cretan art, of the Virgin Life-Receiving Spring and of Christ Pantokrator enthroned, which can both be attributed to a competent 15th-century painter. However, these two despotic icons are bigger than the present icon and obviously did not belong from the outset to the same iconostasis. Nonetheless, all three icons are clearly earlier than the iconostasis they now adorn and than the church of St Phanourios (Ziro 1982, p.344, fig.17). In all probability all three icons were brought here from Crete. Settlement of Pholegandros by incomers from Siphnos and Crete is attested in the last quarter of the 16th century and specifically in 1577 (Ziro 1982, p.338). Other sources confirm that a wave of refugees from Crete ended up on Pholegandros during the Turkish–Venetian War of 1669, and possibly after the destruction of the island by the Ottomans in 1715 (Charilaos 1888, pp 13–16; Gavalas 1974). Consequently, it seems that the building of the church of St Phanourios, dated after the catastrophic Turkish raid on Pholegandros, can be associated with the arrival of Cretan refugees and the need to house the three precious 15th-century Cretan icons. Moreover, it is the earliest known church dedicated to the newly appeared saint outside Crete.

ANGELIKI MITSANI



Angelos (attributed)

The Appearance of Christ to the Myrrh-Bearing Women and the Miracle of St Phanourios

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood.

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

115 x 63 cm

Candia, Crete

Iraklion, Collection of St Catherine of the Sinaites from the Hodegetria monastery, inv.no.042

Conservation: N. Kallas, 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

Literature: Borboudakis 1968, p.426; Borboudakis 1971a, pp.382–3; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, p.231; Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis 1983, p.85; Borboudakis 1985b, no.8; Chatzidakis 1985, p.118 n.9; Iraklion 1993, no.94, pp.447–8 (M. Borboudakis); New York 2009, no.7, p.50 (A. Drandaki).

TWO UNCONNECTED iconographic subjects are represented here: the appearance of Christ to the myrrh-bearing women (Matthew 28:9), in the upper zone, and the miraculous rescue of Cretan priests from a storm at sea, in the lower zone. This unique combination of unrelated subjects expresses a common theological idea: that of the theophany of Christ to the myrrh-bearing women and of St Phanourios to the priests.

The appearance of the resurrected Christ is represented in a strictly symmetrical composition. On the main axis is the tall slender figure of Christ himself, with one leg planted firmly on the green foreground and the other leg to the fore. Both hands are outstretched in blessing, and his head is inclined slightly to the right. He gazes at the kneeling Virgin. She extends her right hand towards her Son in a gesture of accepting the blessing, while hiding her left hand on her shoulder under the maphorion. On the other side of Christ, Mary Magdalene bows even more deeply. She wears a red dress, and her hair is loose on her shoulders as she stretches both hands towards Christ's leg. The edge of Christ's himation flutters above her head, balancing the composition. The figures are set in front of

prismatic brown mountains.

Contrary to older scholarship which persisted on Angelos' painting in the manner of the Palaiologan tradition (Xyngopoulos 1957, pp.169–71), modern research tends to recognise western influences not only in iconographic types but also in secondary elements and details (Mantas 2003, p.351). Elements such as the opening of the Lord's himation to reveal his lance-pierced side; Mary Magdalene in low obeisance, her loosened hair and the large soft folds of her red garment; the rendering of the landscape with soft curvaceous outline and volume on two levels; and the low vegetation, all derive from Late Gothic painting (Chatzidakis 1985, p.116).

The appearance of Christ to the myrrh-bearing women was widely diffused in Palaiologan wall painting, either in the asymmetrical type with the two women on one side, or in the symmetrical type as seen here (Millet 1916, pp.542ff; Zarras 2000–1). The scene painted by Angelos was to constitute the iconographic model for later Cretan icons of the subject, while the figures of Christ and Mary Magdalene, with minor variations, appear in later icons of the 'Noli me Tangere' (Chatzidakis 1962, pp.115–17; Kalliga-Yeroulanou 1962–3, pp.203ff).

The lower zone of the icon depicts the miraculous rescue of the Cretan priests from a tempest through the intervention of St Phanourios. This subject is also depicted in a much-damaged miniature scene on the two-sided icon by Angelos in the Valsamonero monastery (cat.21). The width of the present icon is occupied by the black ship in which the priests voyaged. The Virgin stands on the prow, with her hands outstretched in a gesture of blessing. St Phanourios is placed on the stern, to balance the composition. He outstretches his left hand with the palm outwards, in a gesture of supplication addressed to the Virgin, while in his right he holds the lighted candle, his distinctive attribute. The half-effaced inscription in red capital letters on the gold ground above his head reads *Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ* (St Phanourios). The windblown and battered masts and rigging lean towards the prow, while a priest tries to hold in check the billowing white sail. Two black devils fly away from the sail. The two other priests prostrate themselves in veneration of the Virgin and St Phanourios respectively. The figure in

white leaning over the gunwale of the ship is the helmsman, stretching out his right hand to steer the rudder.

The provenance of this icon from the Hodegetria monastery confirms that it was also a centre of the cult of St Phanourios.

The scene on the lower zone refers to the miracle alluded to in the earliest known text of the *synaxarion* of the saint, the Vatican codex gr.1190, written in Crete in 1542. As four Cretans were returning home from Coron and Modon in the Peloponnese, where they had been ordained as priests (because the Venetian rulers of Crete had abolished the ecclesiastical hierarchy on the island), they were captured by Ottoman pirates. One was killed and the other three were sold as slaves in Palatia (ancient Miletos). Efforts to free them failed, so Ionas, 'the father of the priests in God', travelled to Rhodes to negotiate their release. His efforts were successful only after his pilgrimage, at the behest of Neilos, the Metropolitan of Rhodes, to the church of St Phanourios, where the icon of the saint had been discovered.

Because of the lack of chronological data, as well as the lacunae and the errors in the Vatican codex, these events are thought to have taken place around 1360. At this time relations between the Venetian 'Regno di Candia' and the Emirate of Mendeshe, in the territory of which Palatia laid, were peaceful and are considered to have facilitated negotiations for redeeming the hostage priests on payment of ransom. The sources also attest to the presence of Neilos Diasorenos, Metropolitan of Rhodes (1357–1366), who urged Ionas to make pilgrimage to the church of St Phanourios in order to ask for assistance.

Thanks to the good preservation of this icon, the high standard of Cretan art in the first half of the 15th century can be assessed and appreciated. The painting style, as well as the technique of modeling the flesh, associates it directly with the signed work of Angelos (Chatzidakis 1985, p.118).

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS



Angelos

Two-sided icon with (a) St Phanourios and (b) St Phanourios with Scenes from his *Vita*

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

87.5 × 66.5 cm

Candia, Crete

Crete, Valsamonero monastery,

now kept in the Vrontisi monastery

Conservation: I. Moschos, 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

Literature: Borboudakis 1973–4, p.941, pl.715b–c; Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp 233–4, pl.51b, 52a, 56b, 60c–d; Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis 1983, p.139, fig.83; Borboudakis 1985, no.27; Chatzidakis 1985, p.118; Chatzidakis 1987, p.152; Athens 1983, no.7, pp 22–3 (N. Chatzidakis); Iráklio 1993, no.122–122a, pp 478–9 (M. Borboudakis).

IN CUTTING OFF the lower frame of the icon, presumably to fit on another iconostasis, parts of the paint surface were damaged. On the front side, the single figure of the saint is enhanced for veneration (*proskynesis*); the other side is more narrative in character.

The youthful saint is represented full-length and upright, as though walking to his right but with his head frontal. He is in military attire with a delicately decorated iron two-zone breastplate, under which is a short brown tunic of finely wrought long-sleeved chain mail (*cotte de mailles*). Hanging on his back is a wide fluttering mantle, of the same red as the epaulettes, tied in a knot on his now destroyed chest. Only the right leg survives, on which he appears to wear boots. In his right hand he holds a long spear diagonally, while with his left he steadies on the ground the now half-destroyed darker brown shield, with a relief mask device at the centre. In the same hand he also holds the large cross with the flaming candle atop, his distinctive attribute; his identification is secured by the faint inscription of his name at top right. From the blue segment

of heaven in the top left corner projects the blessing hand of God. All that is preserved of the slain dragon, on which the saint steps, is its raised black head, which is actually projected against the shield.

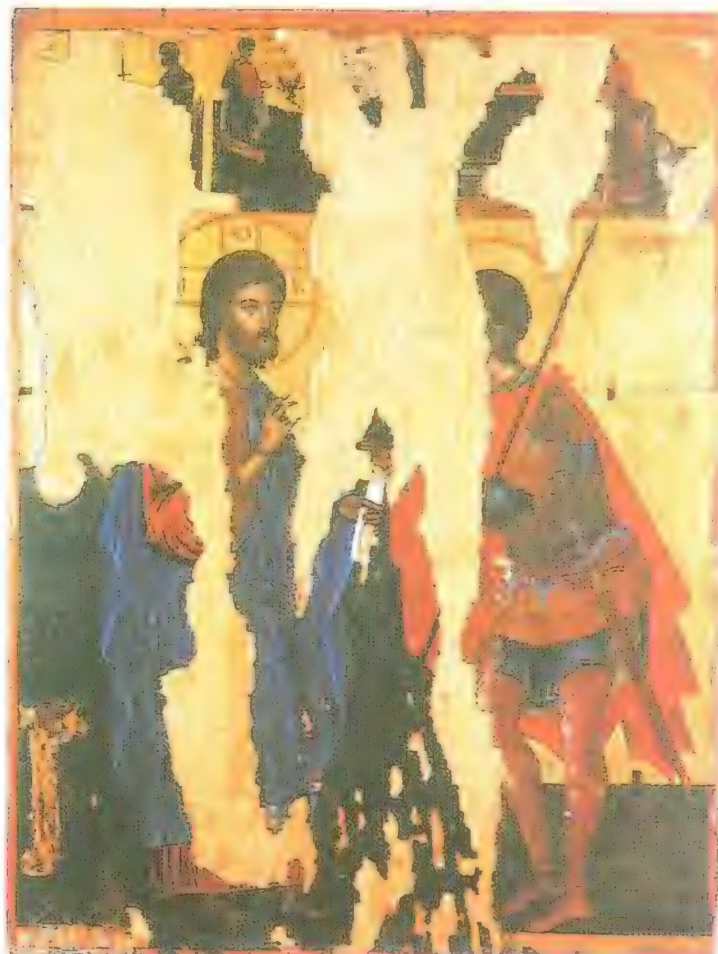
The cult of St Phanourios was adopted by Ionas, a possible former abbot of the Valsamonero monastery. The cult was occasioned by Neilos, the Metropolitan of Rhodes, who had found an icon of a saint, surnamed as 'Phanourios', in the ruins of a church. It was at this time that Ionas was in Rhodes, on a mission to pay ransom for the Cretan priests held hostage by the Turks. Neilos urged him to venerate the icon, ask the saint for his help, and to make a copy of it. It is this copy which Ionas brought back to Crete, initiating the saint's cult on the island. Only later the iconography of St Phanourios was created by Angelos, who painted the icons for the iconostasis of the new chapel in the katholikon, and by Constantinos Eirenikos, who painted the murals in this chapel dedicated to St Phanourios, under the instructions of Ionas Palamas, abbot of the same monastery.

The iconographic type of St Phanourios heavily depends on that of St George. (Chatzidakis 1985, pp 76–7, 117–19, pls 26–7.) It has been argued that the church in whose ruins the icon survived was dedicated to St George, who had the epithet 'ὁ Φανερωτής' (the one who reveals). The mutation of the figure of St George into the historically non-existent St Phanourios, with a cult and an iconography in his own right, derived from the icon in the ruined church (Kollias 2004, pp 285–305). This hagiological conflation explains the close similarities between the two saints. St George is considered the liberator of captives (*Menaion for April*, p.89), as well as the protector of farmers and herdsmen who finds their lost livestock. The hagiological literature attests that St Phanourios also helps to find lost animals and lost objects, as well as revealing rustlers (Kollias 2004, pp 293–4). This miraculous quality of the saint lives on to this day, primarily in the pastoral population of the south slopes of the massif of Psiloritis; proof of innocence of shepherds accused of stealing livestock is the oath sworn on the icon of St Phanourios in the Valsamonero monastery.

After the trimming of the original icon, its back was painted despite the damage. Christ,

full-length and seated on a brown wooden throne, wears a brown chiton and a himation over-painted in blue. He extends his blessing right hand to the approaching St Phanourios. On Christ's cross-inscribed halo are the capital letters *Ο Ω Ν* (I Am). The saint, full-length and upright, wears military uniform. His left hand, in front of his chest, supports a long spear diagonally on his shoulder. His face is totally effaced and only the back of the head is preserved. Although the hands of Christ and his white scroll are later over-paintings, they possibly follow the remnants of the initial painting so as to denote that at this point there was a cross – namely the cross with the flaming candle atop – which Christ presented and St Phanourios received. Higher up on the gold ground reads the inscription [*Φ α*] *Ν Ο Υ Π Ι Ο C* (Phanourios) in capital letters.

Due to the destruction of the paint surface in the area between the two figures, it is not possible to determine with exactness the iconographic subject – whether it is a representation of a sacred conversation (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp 229–30) or of the handing over by Christ to St Phanourios of the cross with the flaming candle atop. The latter interpretation seems more likely on account of the iconography of the first small panel on the upper left corner: Christ holds the cross with the lighted candle in his right hand, outstretched to present it, most probably, to the approaching St Phanourios (who is now totally destroyed). It is Christ who grants the special ability to the saint to find lost objects, as the iconography of the icon declares. In the following scene the miraculous rescue of the Cretan priests is represented, due to the intervention of St Phanourios. The saint stands on the prow of a ship and holds in his right hand the cross with the lighted candle, while outstretching his left in blessing. Next to the saint are remnants of a majuscule inscription of which the words *Φ Α Ν Ο Υ Π Ι Ο C* (Phanourios), *Η Θ Ε Ο Τ Ο Κ Ο C* (the Theotokos) and *Θ Α Λ Α C C Α* (Sea) survive. At the right edge the back of the figure of the Virgin, standing on the ship's stern, is still preserved. Traces of the priests and the ship's mast, as well as of the flying figure of a black devil, are still discernible. The iconographic type of this representation is known from the two-zone icon painted by Angelos for the Hodegetria monastery (ca.120). Only traces survive of the



third scene, which might have represented the miraculous rescue of Ionas from a rainstorm during the transport of the icon of St Phanourios from Rhodes to the Valsamonero monastery. This is confirmed by the extant remnants of the representation and the surviving words of the majuscule inscription on the right: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟΣ ΦΥΛΑΤΤΩΝ ... ΦΩΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΥΕΤΟΥ* (St Phanourios guarding ... light from the downpour). The saint is depicted upon a tower-like building, to which a figure enters through a doorway, where the horse is tied that abbot Ionas rode to bring the icon to the monastery (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp 233–4, pls 51, 52a, 56b, 60). This representation is particularly significant for Ionas' role in introducing the saint's cult to Crete and, primarily, in forming the iconography of his miracles; this scene from the saint's life is a pictorial expression of the experiences of the abbot Ionas himself.

These three scenes, indicative of Angelos' skill as a miniaturist, together with the scenes

of St Phanourios' life in other icons painted by him, and in conjunction with the wall paintings by Eirenikos, reveal the choice of scenes for compiling a *synaxarion*, as well as the crystallisation of iconographic types of the saint's *Vita* in the third or fourth decade of the 15th century. The earliest known text of the *Synaxarion* of St Phanourios, the Vatican codex gr.1190, was written in Crete in 1542, while another *Synaxarion*, now kept at the Sinaite *metochion* of St Matthew, in Iráklion, is dated likewise to the 16th century. The Vatican codex probably copies an earlier original biographical text of the 15th century, yet to be located, if indeed it ever existed (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp 224–5).

On the green foreground, to the right of St Phanourios, is the majuscule signature of the painter *ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos).

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS

Angelos (attributed)

St Phanourios Enthroned

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg-tempera on wood,
primed with gesso without linen, gold leaf
92 x 66 cm
Candia, Crete
Crete, Valsamonero monastery, now kept in the
Vrontisi monastery

Conservation: T. Moschos, 13th Ephorate of Byzantine
Antiquities.

Literature: Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp 230–31,
235–6, pls 53a, 54a; Borboudakis 1985a, no. 14; Iráklion
1993, no. 123, p. 480 (M. Borboudakis).

THE REPRESENTATION of St Phanourios seated on a throne, wearing military uniform and stepping upon the slain dragon, is the earliest known depiction of the saint in this particular iconographic type in icon painting.

The cult of St Phanourios was promoted in Crete by Ionas Palamas, abbot of the Valsamonero monastery, in about the third decade of the 15th century. Palamas' manifold activity undoubtedly held a prominent place among the agents of the early Cretan Renaissance. He collaborated closely with refugee painters who from the late 14th century represented the Constantinopolitan tradition of Palaiologan art in Crete, such as Constantinos Eirenikos. Palamas also promoted new cults, such as that of St Phanourios, in the ritual of the Cretan church. At his own expense, he elevated the status of the Valsamonero monastery to one of the most important monastic communities and cultural centres in medieval Crete.

In 1426, a chapel dedicated to St Phanourios was added to the katholikon of his monastery. It was decorated in 1431 with wall paintings by Eirenikos, as recorded in the dedicatory inscription preserved over the west entrance. These paintings comprised a whole series of the saint's *Vita* (Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis 1983, pp 313–21). The sole remaining wall paintings of the saint in Crete are the full-length mural depictions of St Phanourios in the church of St Constantine at Avdou, painted by the Phokas brothers in

1445 (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pl. 51a), and in the aisle added to the katholikon of St Nicholas monastery at Zaros, near Valsamonero, before the mid-15th century.

This icon was made for the iconostasis of the chapel in the Valsamonero monastery. It is now in poor condition, due to the destruction of almost half the painted surface on the left part of the enthroned figure. Preserved are the head and the right and larger part of the torso, half of the throne and the right leg of the figure. The rest of the body from the left shoulder downwards is destroyed, as is the front half of the sinuous figure of the slain dragon. The iconography can be deduced, however, on the basis of a later quite faithful copy signed by the painter and priest Ioannis Kolyvas and dated to 1688, now preserved in the church of St Matthew in Iráklion (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pl. 53b; Iráklion 1993, no. 115, p. 472 (M. Borboudakis)).

The saint is depicted full length and in strictly frontal pose, on a wooden wheaten-coloured throne. He is in military attire with a luxurious two-zone iron breastplate, in blue, under which is a finely wrought tunic of chain mail, in brown. On his legs are high brown boots and orange greaves. In his right hand he holds diagonally a long spear. At top left, an angel crowns the victorious saint. The now-destroyed part of the icon would have depicted the saint's leg and his left hand, which would have steadied a large shield resting on the foreground at his side. In the right hand he would have held the large cross with a flaming candle atop, while its lower end would have been impacted in the open mouth of the dragon. In the upper corner of the icon there would have been the semicircle of heaven, with the hand of God blessing the saint. To the right of the throne a short green two-branched tree would have indicated the open space for the whole setting.

Certain iconographic traits – such as the frontal pose of the saint; his portrayal as a soldier in panoply; and the way in which he sits on the throne, as if poised to jump up at any moment – constitute an iconographic type almost identical to that of the enthroned soldier-saint St George. The only difference is the additional representation of the slain dragon upon which St Phanourios steps (Chatzidakis 1985, pp 117–19). However, it

should be noted that no 15th-century icon by Angelos with St Phanourios on horseback slaying a dragon in the manner of St George is known. This lacuna may be filled to a certain degree by an icon signed by Michael Polychronios and dated to 1843, produced for the Hodegetria monastery, in which four miniature scenes from his *Vita* are set at the corners (Iráklion 1993, no. 121, p. 477 (M. Borboudakis)). One can assume that Polychronios copied in the style of his time a model icon of the saint on horseback painted by Angelos, which no longer survives. This hypothesis is also reinforced by the considerable number of icons painted by Angelos and still kept at the Hodegetria monastery.

Although the icon seen here is unsigned, its high-quality painting, style of execution and refined technique of rendering the high-lights advocate its attribution to Angelos. Because of the extensive destruction to the paint surface, it is not possible to verify whether it carried Angelos' signature. The youthful figure of St Phanourios, with melancholic gaze, has an obvious expression of aristocratic comeliness, revealing the provenance of the painter's art from the classicising tradition of the Palaiologan art of Constantinople. The exceptionally high standard of this classicising painting, as well as the flawless and sophisticated technique, are Angelos' distinctive traits. The gentle modelling of the saint's youthful countenance with its idealised beauty is achieved through fine modulation of shadow. This method, observed in other icons by Angelos, is based on a very fine processing of an extremely dense mesh of white high-lights, to achieve the gradation of light that conveys the plasticity of the facial volumes (Chatzidakis 1985, p. 177).

Although there are no dates on Angelos' icons at Valsamonero, the dates in the dedicatory inscription – 1426 for the building of the chapel of St Phanourios and 1436 for its mural decoration – provide chronological clues to the period in which the icons commissioned by Ionas Palamas were painted.

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS



Angelos (attributed)

St Phanourios

Second quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

84.7 × 33.5 × 2 cm

Crete, Candia

Athens, private collection

Conservation: V. Arbillas

Literature: Chatzidakis 1985, p. 118; Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, p. 232, pl. 58; Charleroi 1982, no. 3 (N. Chatzidakis); Athens 1983, no. 12, pp. 26–7 (N. Chatzidakis); Drandaki 2002, p. 38, fig. 23.

THIS LONG NARROW icon was perhaps originally placed on an icon-stand in a church or hung in an icon-shrine for private devotions at a house. It comprises three boards of wood, of differing length, to the back of which is nailed a lattice of vertical and horizontal battens. The damage at the edges, the sides and mainly at about mid-height reveals the scoring of the wood in preparation for the application of the linen and gesso priming for the paint surface. On the back, the wood, though worm-riddled, displays preserved elements of carved decoration: quatrefoils inscribed in incised circles, with their centres emphasised by roundels enclosing a dot. At the right edge, the border is formed by incised palmettes. The boards originally belonged to a piece of furniture – perhaps the lid of a chest, from the hinge of which a nail survives in the side of the bottom left corner. Similar recycled parts of chests with comparable decoration are known from Crete (Andrianakis 1986; Delivorrias 2003, pp. 97–8, figs 4–7), of which the icon in the Athenian collection is the earliest known example.

The soldier-saint is depicted in frontal pose standing against the gold ground, in slightly relaxed posture on a brownish-red foreground, gazing decisively at the viewer. He is blessed by the hand of God which appears from two blue quadrants in the top right corner. In his right hand he holds a wooden cross with lighted candle at the top, while with the left he grips his sword in its scabbard. He wears a bluish-

green chemise, of which only the cuffs are visible, and over this a pale ochre tunic with slits at the sides and wide sleeves. The olive-green cuirass, reinforced by a metal band on the chest, has epaulettes – only the right one is visible – and two rows of vertical light-brown plates down to the area of the pelvis. The breastplate is covered by a cinnabar-red mantle with green lining. The high boots are of orangey-red cloth with appliqué bands in pale ochre below the knee. The greyish-white gaiters, with two vertical ribs in red cinnabar, hug the lower calves and the top of the foot, leaving the toes uncovered. The shield, hanging behind on the back, is held in place by a strap crossing the chest. The halo is defined by an incised circle. The saint's name is written in red majuscule letters in the upper left corner: [O AΓΓΟC] ΦΑΝΟΥΡΙΟC (St Phanourios). Discernible on the brown under-layer of the face are the light rouging and, despite the damage, the few radiating white highlights that impart gentility to the young saint's visage. Copious gold striations embellish the edge of the garment of the hand of God, the plates of the breastplate, the metal fittings of the scabbard, the hems of the chiton and the appliqué bands, endowing a sense of luxury.

According to the compilers of his *Vita*, St Phanourios was venerated in Rhodes before the mid-14th century, but his reputation spread to Crete in the early 15th century with the Valsamonero monastery as a particular centre of pilgrimage (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp. 221–8). The saint, of dubitable historicity, is honoured to this day (Kaplanoglou 2006). It seems that Angelos – who had, moreover, personal ties with the abbot of the Valsamonero monastery, Ionas Palamas (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp. 229–36; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981) – played an important role in elaborating and establishing the saint's iconography in icon painting. Signed works by Angelos present the saint in a mountainous landscape, stepping on the slain dragon, holding a cross topped by a burning candle and his shield in one hand and gripping a spear with the other, as on the double-sided icon in the Vrontisi monastery (cat. 21) and the icons from Patmos (cat. 17) and Pholegandros (cat. 19).

On this icon the saint is represented without topographical or historical references, in a

timeless triumphant moment of his blessing from heaven. The icon of St Demetrios – originally of St Phanourios – in the Andreadis Collection (cat. 24) is of the same iconographic type. The present icon is in better condition, and gives an idea of the buttons on the right shoulder and the way in which the saint holds the hilt of his sword. Both works – with Palaiologan origins in their iconography, style and rendering of the highlights, the opulence of the garments, and the excellent quality and wise use of pigments – are linked in art and style with icons of full-length soldier-saints by Angelos, such as of St Theodore Teron in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (cat. 33), and St George in the Benaki Museum (cat. 37), in which the hand of God is rendered in exactly the same way. The soft drapery, in Late Gothic mode, of the sleeves of the tunic and the lining of the cape in both icons is the same as on the garments of the Virgin and St John in the icon of the Pietà (cat. 49), in the Museo Correr, Venice, which too bears the signature of Angelos (Venice 1993, no. 35, pp. 148–51 (N. Chatzidakis), where it is dated to the 16th century). Although the saint's triangular face, with hair parted down the middle and curls hanging behind the ears, harks back to the soldier-saints in the church of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple at Sklaverochori, of the late 14th century (Borboudakis 1991, p. 390, pl. 205β), it is masterfully modelled without abrupt chiaroscuro, as on the face of St Catherine in the Patmos icon (cat. 35) or the face of Prochoros in the Sinai icon (cat. 40), both signed works of Angelos. Lastly, the letters in the inscription are the same as in several inscriptions and signatures of Angelos, with minuscule and majuscule capitals used in the same word; the φ in particular and the elision of the suffix -ος of the name, with the final c tangled with the lower part of the o, are written identically on the homonymous icon in Patmos (cat. 17). All the above advocate the attribution of the icon to the workshop of the great Candiote painter Angelos and its dating to the second quarter of the 15th century.

YANNIS D. VARALIS





Attributed to the circle of Angelos

St Demetrios

Mid-15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

92 × 45.8 × 3 cm

Candia, Crete

Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, former
Andreadis Collection

Conservation: Ph. Zachariou. Partial removal of the over-
paintings by C. Milanou 2000

Literature: Charlevoi 1982, no.3 (N. Chatzidakis); Athens
1983, no.13, p.27 (N. Chatzidakis); Florence 1986, no.58,
pp.100–101 (N. Chatzidakis); London 1987, no.37, p.172
(N. Chatzidakis); Baltimore 1988, no.45, pp.204–5 (N.
Chatzidakis); Drandaki 2002, no.5, pp.36–41; New York
2004, no.21, pp.202–3 (A. Drandaki).

THE FULL-LENGTH saint is shown against a gold ground, standing on a deep red foreground that gradually darkens. Projecting from a quadrant of heaven in the upper right corner is the hand of God, blessing him. The inscription identifies the figure as Demetrios. However, the locks of hair on the nape of his neck and the traces of the horizontal arm of a cross visible on the gold ground next to his right shoulder indicate that St Phanourios – who holds a cross topped by a candle, instead of a spear (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp.223–38) – was originally represented (Athens 1983, no.13, p.27 (N. Chatzidakis)).

The preliminary drawing is incised and painted. The saint's face is oval with large brown eyes, a long nose and a small, tightly pursed mouth. The flesh is modelled with dense fine brushstrokes, complemented by white highlights on the prominent parts. Despite their regular arrangement, they are executed with freedom and in a painterly manner, radically differentiating the icon from the later, affected imitations of this technique. The colours have a translucent quality, splendidly enhanced on the large planes, such as the bright-green lining of the red mantle.

The most interesting characteristic of this icon is the balanced combination of an icono-

graphic scheme belonging to Palaiologan tradition – of a full-length soldier-saint in frontal pose – with stylistic traits that refer to Italian painting of the time. Although the image as a whole preserves the spirituality and ethos of Byzantine saints, it simultaneously creates the impression of a portrait of an earthly human being, notwithstanding the halo and the transcendental gold background. The anatomical details of the legs, delineated by the chiaroscuro on the red leggings; the flawless perspective of the bent right arm; and the impeccable bend of the fingers of both hands reveal a deep knowledge of the human body. Some realistic iconographic details – such as the buttons fastening the mantle, the contemporary sword and the baldric – also contribute to this effect. However, equally indicative of the painter's idiosyncrasy and training is the fact that these details are combined with costume elements that follow the traditional conventional manner of Byzantine iconography, such as the gold-embellished metal breastplate.

A comparable combination of styles is encountered in the representations on an early Cretan polyptych (?), now split and shared by different collections (Kazanaki-Lappa 2000, pp.29–38; Haustein-Bartsch 2000, pp.11–28). The saint's highly ornate stamped halo, which is reproduced in other 15th-century Cretan icons (Baltoyanni 1986, no.14, p.27, pl.1), is impressive, although it does not attain the delicacy of execution observed in contemporary Italian works.

The icon shown here has been attributed to Angelos (Athens 1983, no.13, p.27 (N. Chatzidakis); Baltimore 1988, no.45, pp.204–5 (N. Chatzidakis); Drandaki 2002, pp.36–41). It is true that the closest analogies, not only in the modelling of the figure but also in individual traits of the treatment of the subject, are to be found in icons by the famous painter. The same bold colours and careful rendering of realistic details are observed on the icon of the enthroned Christ, in Zakynthos, signed by Angelos (cat.47). Of course, the present icon is associated more closely with a series of icons of full-length soldier-saints, bearing the signature of Angelos or attributed to him (Drandaki 2002, p.38). Of these, the closest iconographic similarities are displayed by St Phanourios in an icon from an Athenian collection (cat.23). However, close comparison of the two icons

reveals differences in the rendering of details and, primarily, in the use of colour and the utilisation of chiaroscuro for conveying the volumes and textures of the materials. The icon here displays less refined modelling, with harsher transitions from light to dark planes, and should be considered the work of another painter who reproduced the same model.

Recent technical analysis of seven signed icons by Angelos, carried out in the Benaki Museum laboratory, provided the opportunity for collecting analogous evidence for the present icon. Study of this data has not yet been completed as, being unsigned, the icon was not included in the framework of the publication concerned (Milanou *et al.* 2008). Nonetheless, it is worth noting that a first reading of the results pointed out certain discrepancies between the icon discussed here and the seven works signed by Angelos, which all present a unity of technique at every level. These differentiations – evident on the development of the preliminary design, the use of the underlayer and the thickness of the pigments – will be evaluated fully only when the relevant study is completed. However, they raise again the problem of the criteria on which icons are attributed to specific Cretan artists, since icon painting in this period presents remarkable homogeneity.

ANASTASIA DRANDAKI



Angelos

The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
77 x 45.5 cm
Candia, Crete
Crete, Hodegetria monastery

Conservation: T. Moschos, 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

Literature: Athens 1986, no.104, pp.105–6 (M. Borboudakis); Vassilaki 1990a, p.418, fig.10; Iráklion 1993, no.118, pp.474–5 (M. Borboudakis); Lymberopoulou 2007, p.196, pl.5.20.

THE REPRESENTATION of the Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul symbolises the idea of the ecumenical peace of the Christian Churches of East and West, in accordance with the line in the *troparion* for the saints' feast day, 29 June: 'επιήνην τη οικουμένη δωρίσασθαι' ('offer the gift of peace to the whole world'). The subject appears with variations in two iconographic types: either with the two Apostles full-length, standing and embracing, in icons of rectangular shape, as in this icon in the Hodegetria monastery; or with the Apostles in bust and embracing, in icons of circular shape (tondi).

The representation of this iconographic subject in rectangular icons of large dimensions for the iconostasis or in portable tondo icons for personal devotions is considered to be a creation of the painter Angelos, dating from the first half of the 15th century. This attribution is ascertained from the non-existence of earlier icons of the subject and from the will of Angelos, of 1436, in which there is explicit reference to a tondo icon of St Catherine (Manoussakas 1960–61a, p.148). As in the other icons of the type, the subject appears as autonomous, detached from scenes of the *synaxaria* of the saints. The Apostles, Peter on the left and Paul on the right, are depicted full length and standing, tall and erect in posture. They are projected against the gold ground of the icon and step with their

sandalled feet on the dark-blue foreground. Their garments are of the same kind – both wear a blue chiton and a himation, ochre for Peter and red for Paul. The Apostles' faces, which converge, are rendered with the familiar crystallised portrait features: Peter with short white hair and round beard, and Paul balding, with brown hair and bushy beard. They are represented embracing but without looking at each other. The embrace is denoted not only by the touching faces but also by the position of the hands. Peter's left hand and Paul's right hand respectively pass behind the other's shoulder and touch his back, as the position of the fingers denotes. The other two hands are crossed, with Paul's resting on the shoulder of Peter, whose right hand touches from below the left forearm of Paul. It has been observed that this arrangement, with the two heads converging and the hands crossed in an almost semicircular scheme, create as a composition the precondition of this part being detached and placed in a tondo.

The iconographic subject of the Embrace of the leading Apostles, as symbolic of ecumenical peace, has a long iconographic tradition. One tondo icon with the representation of the Embrace of the two Apostles, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, which is dated c.1400, is considered to be the earliest surviving example (Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1980–81, pp.339–56; Vassilaki 1990a, pp.409–10, fig.4). However, recent research which has contributed to a more complete knowledge of the art of the painter Angelos has assigned to him a whole series of icons with this subject (Vassilaki 1990a). That the group of icons of this subject, even if they are not signed, is included in the oeuvre of Angelos is confirmed by their common style and technique, and the high quality of the painting.

The possible reasons for the choice and the elaboration of this iconographic subject by Angelos have also been investigated. They have been interpreted in the light of the imperial policy of Byzantium during this period, which promoted the Union of the Churches of East and West, imposed by the need to confront the Ottoman threat. Angelos apparently subscribed to this pro-Unionist policy and created a number of icons of the iconographic type of the Embrace of the two Apostles symbolising ecumenical peace of the Churches, for a clien-

tele that accepted the pro-Unionist policy. That Angelos subscribed to this pro-Unionist policy is corroborated by his icons of this subject. Furthermore, the will of Angelos Akotantos (Manoussakas 1960–61a, pp.139–51), whom research has identified as Angelos the painter of the icon in the Hodegetria monastery (Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp.290–98), was drawn up on the occasion of a journey by him to Constantinople, and it is considered very possible that it was linked also with a visit by him to the Patriarchate, where the Patriarch Joseph II was preparing to attend the Council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–9).

Angelos painted the iconographic subject of the Embrace of the two Apostles for clients who accepted the pro-Unionist policy. However, the subject is rendered in the Byzantine Palaiologan stylistic tradition of painting, which, as is well known, Angelos followed throughout his career. The existence of the iconostasis icon of large dimensions in the Hodegetria monastery perhaps justifies also the reasonable hypothesis that this monastic community accepted the pro-Unionist policy and sided with its supporters, despite the lack of relevant documentation in archival sources and the negative stance of the Cretans in general towards Union of the Churches.

In the lower part of the icon is the majuscule signature in the type established by the painter: ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ (Hand of Angelos).

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS

Angelos (attributed)

The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul

Second quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood, primed with gesso, gold leaf

41.5 (diameter) × 2.5 cm

Candia, Crete

Patmos, Holy Monastery of St John the Theologian

Literature: Chatzidakis 1985, no.74, pp.124–5, pl.45.

Chatzidakis 1988, pp.113–14, pl.14; Vassilaki 1990a,

p.410, fig.6; Vassilaki 2000, pp.195–6, fig.1.

THIS TONDO ICON is surrounded by an integral wooden frame with a low-relief moulding. Entitled by the inscription in red majuscule letters *Ο ΑCΠ(ΑC)ΜΟC Τ(ΩΝ) ΑΓΙ(ΩΝ) ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΩΝ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΑΥΛΟΥ* (The Embrace of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul), the icon is painted on gesso primed directly on wood. Within the circular shape are the leading Apostles with their distinctive portrait features, shown in embrace, their cheeks touching but their eyes not meeting. Depicted left is Peter, who rushes to embrace Paul with both arms; his right hand is shown touching Paul's left shoulder, while only the fingers of the left hand are visible behind his back.

The confronted figures, robust, severe and with intense expression, unobtrusively convey their tenderness and amity through the embrace. The uniformity of their pose and the monotony of the elliptical depiction are enlivened by the contrasting hair colour – brown for Paul and white for Peter – and the difference in the length of their beard. The tondo encloses a completely balanced composition, in harmony with the available space; nothing is redundant. The flesh is modelled with dense, fine, linear highlights, while the drapery, geometric and with minimal curves, is denoted by ample lines and graduated in planes with broad light reflections. The clever use of light to achieve plasticity of volumes and the painterly function of the white highlights, as well as the flawless processing of the image, point to Angelos as its painter (Chatzidakis 1985, p.125).

The iconographic subject of the Embrace of the two Apostles – a depiction of their legendary meeting in Rome, according to the apocryphal texts – is known from the Early Christian period (Kessler 1987, pp.265–7). It is at once a symbol and a visual rendition of ecumenical peace and apostolic love, an idea that also runs through the *troparion* for their joint feast day, 29 June. The subject of the Embrace might also be related conceptually to the ritual kissing of priests in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy (Chatzidakis 1988, p.114).

The representation of the Embrace of Peter and Paul in portable icons has been discussed in detail elsewhere (Vassilaki 1990a, pp.406–22). The iconographic scheme is encountered in two basic variations. In the first, the Apostles are represented full length, as in the signed icons by Angelos in the Hodegetria monastery in Crete (cat.25) and in Zakynthos, which was destroyed in the 1953 earthquakes (Chatzidakis 1985, p.125). They are also full length on the wings of two 15th-century Cretan triptychs, in the Leventis Collection in London (New York 2004, no.94, pp.172–3 (M. Georgopoulou)) and in the Vatican Museum (Vassilaki 1990a, p.411, fig.11). In the second variation, to which this icon belongs, the Apostles are shown in bust – in most cases on tondo icons, with the exception of the 15th-century rectangular icon in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Vassilaki 1990a, fig.1). The earliest known example, and possibly the model for the subsequent ones, is the icon in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, dated c.1400 (Kreidl-Papadopoulos 1980–81, pp.339–56). In this case the subject is adapted most successfully to the demanding and singular circular format, including only the heads of the figures and the necessary parts of the torso. Another four tondo icons of the Embrace of Peter and Paul have survived, in the Topla monastery in Herzegovina (Djurić 1961, no.56, pp.118–19, pl.LXXVII); the C. Krimbas Collection in Athens (cat.27); the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai (Chatzidakis 1985, pl.203); and the Museum of Decorative Arts in Budapest (Ruzsa 1982, p.545, fig.1). The first three date to the 15th century, while the fourth is probably a good 17th-century copy (Vassilaki 1990a, p.410).

The type of the tondo icon is considered

to be an Italian revival of the *imago clipeata* (Grabar 1968, pp.607–13). The earliest textual evidence of the existence of tondo icons in Crete is in the will of Angelos, dated 1436 (Manoussakas 1960–61a, p.297).

The appeal of the Embrace of Peter and Paul in the 15th century should be examined through prevailing historical circumstances, which they are considered to express. The attacks of the Turks to Constantinople resulted in Byzantium placing its hopes in the political support of the Latin West, by seeking a prop in the Union of the two Churches. As a result, even art was utilised by the pro-Union faction, in order to promote iconographic types that propagandised the unity of the Apostolic Church and religious conciliation. Among these types there was a reasonable preference for the subject of the Embrace of the Apostles, which synthesises the idea of fraternity and emphatically projects the need for the Union of the Eastern and the Western Church against the expansionist policy of the Turks (Gioles 2004, pp.76–7; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1996, p.5213).

Angelos is accredited with the creation of both variations of the subject (Iraklion 1993, no.118, pp.474–5 (M. Borboudakis)). As well as being a professional painter, he was also appointed first cantor (*protopsaltes*) in Candia, by the Venetian authorities, in 1436 and 1450. It is not by chance that the beginning of his service coincided with the preparations for the Council of Ferrara–Florence (Vassilaki 1990a, pp.416–17). If the hypotheses regarding the attribution to Angelos of more icons of the Embrace of the Apostles than the signed one are valid, then this considerably enhances his role in crystallising and disseminating the subject. These particular works are perhaps simply the personal expression of his inherent Unionist ideas. Perhaps again they attest official commissions in the renowned Cretan painter's workshop for icons in the form of commemorative medals, acting as mementoes and propagandist symbols of an ambitious political and ecclesiastical move, which, however, proved transient and stale. Not only was the sought-after Union of the Churches not achieved, it sowed rivalry and discord in the Empire without managing to liberate it from its preordained fate.

CONSTANTIA KEPHALA



Angelos (attributed)

The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
37.5 cm diameter
Candia, Crete
Athens, C. Krimbas Collection

Literature: Athens 1983, no.15, p. 26 (N. Chatzidakis);
Vassilaki 1990a, p.410, fig.9; Vassilaki 2000, p. 195, fig.2.

THE APOSTLES Peter and Paul, in bust, fill the entire surface of the tondo, with Peter left and Paul right. Peter, dressed in a deep-green chiton with an orange clavus on the right arm striated in gold, and an olive-green himation covering his left shoulder and arm, outstretches both hands and embraces Paul. In touching Paul's left shoulder, his right hand follows the circular outline of the icon, thus closing the composition downwards. Paul wears a chiton of the same deep green as Peter's and a purple himation covering his right side. Of his two hands, which embrace Peter, only the fingers of the right are visible on the latter's left shoulder. The left side of Peter's face touches the right side of Paul's. The names of both apostles are legible on the gold ground, in red capital letters: *Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟ)C ΠΕΤΡΟC* (St Peter), left, and *Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟ)C ΠΑΥΛΟC* (St Paul), right. The icon has an integral wooden frame decorated with mouldings.

On account of its shape and its subject, this icon belongs to a group of four tondi of the Embrace of Apostles Peter and Paul: the others being located in the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos (cat.26); the monastery of St Catherine in Sinai (Vassilaki 1990a, p.410, fig.7); and in the Orthodox church at Topla in Herzegovina (Vassilaki 1990a, p.410, fig.8). The close iconographic and stylistic similarities between these four icons and one in the Hodegetria monastery in Crete – of the Apostles in full length and embracing (cat.25), bearing the signature of Angelos (*ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ*) – led to the attribution of the circular icons of the Embrace of

the Apostles Peter and Paul also to Angelos (Chatzidakis 1985, p.125; Athens 1983, p.28 (N. Chatzidakis)). The linking of Angelos with the four tondi is further supported by the fact that in his will there is mention of a round icon of St Catherine in his possession, probably painted by him (Manoussakas 1960–61a, p.148; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp 296–7). Angelos was therefore familiar with this shape of icon. A round icon of St Catherine, latterly at Skradin in Dalmatia, displays iconographic and stylistic affinities with Angelos' oeuvre and has moreover the same frame with mouldings as the tondi with the Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul (Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, p.297, fig.1H').

Angelos' signature existed on another icon with the full-length Apostles Peter and Paul in embrace, which was once in Zakynthos but was destroyed in the earthquake of 1953 (Chatzidakis 1985, p.125; Foreword by Chatzidakis in Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, p.16–17, fig.5). One last icon showing the Apostles Peter and Paul in bust and embracing, rectangular in shape, attributed to Angelos, is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Vassilaki 1990a, pp 405–22, fig.1).

The fact that the four tondi render the iconographic subject of the Embrace of the Apostles in identical manner and are also of identical dimensions suggests that the same pricked working drawing (*anthivolon*) was used for their production (Vassilaki 2000, pp 195–6). In the will of Angelos there is reference to *τεσενιάσματα* (*disegni*) and *σκιάσματα* (drawings?) in the artist's possession, which would further advocate this view (Manoussakas 1960–61a, p.147).

The presence of the subject of the Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul in this ensemble of Cretan icons associated with Angelos, and therefore dating from the second quarter of the 15th century, prompted the hypothesis that the revival of the subject might be connected with the Council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–9) and the efforts for the Union of the Eastern and the Western Church (Vassilaki 1990a, pp 416–21). This proposal is reinforced by the fact that on a Cretan icon in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence (cat.58), attributed to Nikolaos Ritzos (documented 1466–pre 1507) and representing the Apostles Peter and Paul jointly holding a model church,

Nano Chatzidakis has identified the architectural type of the depicted church with the actual church of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, where the Council was transferred after Ferrara. The sword held by Apostle Paul in that icon perhaps alludes to a portrait statue of Apostle Paul with sword, which together with the corresponding portrait statue of Apostle Peter adorned the Council chamber, according to the description by Sylvestros Syropoulos, great ecclesiarch of Hagia Sophia, who had taken part in the Council of Ferrara–Florence (Laurent 1971, p.324; Vassilaki 1990a, p.418). Chrysanthi Baltoyanni has suggested that the composition with the Apostles Peter and Paul holding a model of a church is linked with Angelos and is related to the Council of Ferrara–Florence (Baltoyanni 1986, p.95). The fact that the iconostasis of the church in the Florence icon is of Byzantine form with despotic icons, and that behind it is the altar table with a Gospel book, chalice and tongs, led Robin Cormack to suggest that the subject of the Embrace of Peter and Paul, as represented in this particular icon, perhaps embodies the view that Union of the Churches could be achieved if the Western Church returned to the Orthodoxy of the Eastern Church (Cormack 2006, pp 118–20).

The linking of all the icons of the Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul, either bearing the signature of Angelos or attributed to him, with the climate created on Crete in favour of the Union of the two Churches (Tsirpanlis 1967) is facilitated also by the fact that Angelos served as first cantor (*protopsaltes*) in Candia (Vassilaki 1990a, pp 416–91; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2003, p.500).

MARIA VASSILAKI





Angelos

Christ the Vine

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
108.5 x 92 cm
Candia, Crete
Ierapetra, parish church at Malles

Conservation: A. Theodorakopoulos,
13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

Literature: Iráklion 1993, no.151, pp.506–7 (M. Borboudakis); Mantas 2003, pp.348–50, fig.1.

CHRIST, PORTRAYED to the waist, in a frontal pose and hands raised in blessing, is set on the central axis of the composition, where the two large branches sprout and fork from the short trunk of the vine. Smaller, finely drawn spiralling vine tendrils, terminating in bunches of grapes or green leaves, encircle the busts of the Apostles who are arranged on two axes near the edges of the icon; Peter and Paul, the leaders of the two groups, are set in inner rows and facing each other at either side of Christ's head. The Apostles are depicted three-quarter face and on smaller scale. Peter holds a half-opened scroll and Paul the book of his Epistles. John and Mark, on the left, and Matthew and Luke, on the right, hold their Gospel books. Below them, Andrew, Simon and Thomas on the right, and on the left James, Bartholomew and Philip, hold rolled scrolls. The signature *XEIP ANΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos) is written in majuscules on the brown ground, just below the stem of the vine.

The icon illustrates select phrases from the Gospel according to John (15:1–7), which are written on the pages of the open book in front of Christ's waist: *‘ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η ΑΜΠΕΛΟΣ ΥΜΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΚΛΙΜΑΤΑ Κ(αί) Ο Π(ατήρ) ΜΟΥ Ο ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΠΑΝ ΚΛΙΜΑ ΕΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΜΗ ΦΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΝ’* ('I am the vine you are the branches and my Father is the vine-dresser; every branch in me that does not bear fruit'). The symmetrical arrangement of the subject, with the bust of Christ in larger scale at the centre of the icon and the hierarchical arrangement of the Apostles at the

sides, creates a balanced composition, consonant with the classicising tradition of the art of Constantinople, of which Angelos was a devoted follower.

The precedents of this iconography may be traced in the subject of the Tree of Jesse, which had been richly developed by the first half of the 15th century (Mantas 2003, p.351). However, the main theological notion of this subject, namely the dogma of the Divine Incarnation, has been altered: Angelos has chosen to illustrate the theological connotation of the Gospel passage inscribed in the open book in front of Christ and, possibly, to offer visual arguments to the pro-Unionists of Candia (Vassilaki 1990a, p.419).

Of the three icons of Christ the Vine with the signature of Angelos (see cats 29, 30), this one is the best preserved. In fact, its good condition allows some observations to be made on the style – the painterly way in which the figures are modelled, in various tones with small smooth brushstrokes and in a meticulous technique that pays attention to the finest detail, is remarkable. The miniature rendering of the busts of the Apostles, which reveals the artist's adeptness in small-scale painting, can be paralleled to the similar treatment of the miniature figures in the two-sided *Vita* icon of St Phanourios at the Valsamonero monastery (cat.21). The facial type and features of Christ are comparable to those in the Deesis icon kept in the Agia Moni Viannou (cat.46).

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS



Angelos

Christ the Vine

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
77 x 79 cm
Candia, Crete
Crete, Hodegetria monastery

Conservation: I. Moshos, 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

Literature: Xyngopoulos 1957, p.169; Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis 1983, p.148, fig.87; Chatzidakis 1985, p.118. Athens 1983, no.10, pp.24, 26 (N. Chatzidakis); Iráklio 1993, no.119, pp.475–6 (M. Borboudakis); Lymberopoulou 2007, p.182, pl.5.4.

CHRISt THE VINE is not a traditional Byzantine iconographic theme. Its creation by Angelos coincides with the period before and after the Council of Ferrara–Florence (1438–9), in which there were fervent theological debates concerning the Union of the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. The iconography speaks for one Church (vine) founded by Christ and propagated by the Apostles (branches). Peter and Paul, the two leaders of the Eastern and Western Churches, are set in prominent positions (branches that issue from a common root, unified under Christ). Thus, the iconography, as a whole and in the details, has pro-Unionist theological overtones.

The icon is distinguished by a strictly symmetrical composition with Christ at the centre and the Apostles at the sides. Christ, depicted in bust at the point where the vine branches fork, stretches out both hands in blessing; in front of his waist is a Gospel book open at the double-page with the beginning of the 15th chapter of the Gospel according to John (15:1–7): ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η ΑΜΠΕΛΟΣ ΥΜΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΚΛΙΜΑΤΑ Κ(αι) Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ ΜΟΥ Ο ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΠΑΝ ΚΛΙΜΑ ΕΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΜΗ ΦΕ[ρον καρπὸν] (I am the vine you are the branches and my Father is the vine-dresser; every branch in me that does not bear fruit). The Apostles are arranged on two vertical axes at the edges, on the curves of the spiralling shoots of the tree, which bear bunches of grapes and vine leaves, while Peter and Paul, with a scroll and a book in hands respectively, are placed facing each other on either side of Christ's halo. Christ wears a brown chiton and a blue himation with a gold clavus on his right

shoulder. The Apostles are depicted in three-quarter pose wearing their usual garments. John and Mark hold open Gospel books, as do Matthew and Luke; the rest of the Apostles hold unrolled scrolls. On the brown ground in the lower part of the icon is the signature of the painter in majuscules: ΧΕΙΡ ΑΙΤΕΛΑΟΥ (Hand of Angelos).

Like the icons in the Vrontisi monastery (cat.30) and at Malles near Ierapetra (cat.28), this icon reproduces the iconographical subject created by Angelos in the first half of the 15th century. This re-engagement with the same subject in three icons is characteristic of his oeuvre, manifest in other subjects such as the Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul (Vassilaki 2000, pp.195–206), St Phanourios (Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp.223–38), and the Deesis (N. Chatzidakis 2006, pp.283–95). This reproduction of the same subject can be explained by Angelos' extensive use of working drawings in the form of pricked cartoons. In fact, his will mentions the *disegni*, which had been in his possession (Manousakas 1960–61b, p.147). It is logical to presume that after Angelos' death in 1450 these drawings came into the possession of his brother Ioannis Akotantos, also a painter. According to a document dated 7 August 1477, located by Mario Cattapan in the Venetian Archives, Ioannis Akotantos sold to the well-known painter Andreas Ritzos 54 *disegni* of various saints ('*exemplorum figurarum diversorum Sanctorum grece dicte sqinasmata*') for the not inconsiderable sum of three gold ducats (Cattapan 1968, pp.42–3; Cattapan 1973, p.262).

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS

Angelos

Christ the Vine

Second quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

90 x 59 cm

Candia, Crete

Valsamonero monastery, now kept in the Vrontisi monastery

Conservation: A. Theodorakopoulos, 13th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.

Literature: Xyngopoulos 1957, p.169; Chatzidakis 1985, p.118; Athens 1983, p.26; Iráklio 1993, no.124, p.481 (M. Borboudakis)

CHRIST THE VINE was a keen subject for the painter Angelos. As we have seen, two other icons of this subject by him have survived on the island of Crete, one in the Hodegetria monastery (cat.29) and the other at Malles near Ierapetra (cat.28). The iconographic type, unknown in earlier periods, has been considered an original creation of the painter, whose signature appears on all three icons, dated, therefore, in the second quarter of the 15th century.

The iconography of all three works is characterised by a symmetrically organised composition with Christ at the centre and the Apostles at the sides. The central figure of Christ, waist-length, in frontal pose and blessing, occupies the principal axis, at the point where the two large branches sprout and fork from the low trunk of the vine. The Apostles are arranged on either side, on two lateral axes, with the two leading ones, Peter and Paul, placed in an inner row and facing each other at the level of Christ's head. Christ wears a brown chiton and a blue himation with a gold clavus on his right shoulder. He holds in front of his chest an open Gospel book, inscribed with select phrases from the relevant extract from the Gospel of John (15:1–7) 'ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ Η ΑΜΠΕΛΟΣ ΥΜΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΚΛΙΜΑΤΑ Κ[αί] Ο ΠΑΤΗΡ ΜΟΥ Ο ΓΕΩΡΓΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΠΑΝ ΚΛΙΜΑ ΕΝ ΕΜΟΙ Μ[ὴ] φέρον καρπὸν' ('I am the vine you are the branches and my father is the vine-tender every branch abides in me that

beareth not fruit'). The Apostles are depicted in bust, in three-quarter pose, within spiralling vine branches with grapes and leaves in ranked arrangement. The left column is headed by Peter, and behind him in vertical alignment are John and Mark, holding open Gospel books. Below them Andrew, Simon and Thomas are depicted holding rolled scrolls. In exactly corresponding positions on the right side of the icon is Paul, and behind him, in vertical alignment from the top downwards are the Apostles Matthew and Luke, holding open Gospel books, followed by James, Bartholomew and Philip, with rolled scrolls. The lower part of the icon bears, in the majuscule script established by the painter, the signature with his name: ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ (Hand of Angelos).

The constitution of the subject, with the bust of Christ in larger scale on the central axis of the icon and the harmonious arrangement of the Apostles at the sides, creates a balanced composition consonant with the classicising tradition of Constantinople, which Angelos follows in his art.

The iconographic type, created by Angelos, illustrates the theological-doctrinal meaning of the Gospel passage inscribed in the open book. Moreover, the rendering of the central figure of Christ on a much larger scale, and in frontal pose, enhances the liturgical character of the icon. The extract from the Gospel text justifies the soteriological-eschatological interpretation of the composition.

It has been proposed that for the creation of the new iconographic subject of Christ the Vine, Angelos must have used pre-existing iconographies, such as the 'Tree of Jesse, substituting Christ for the figure of the Virgin and the Apostles for the figures of the Prophets. However, in western iconography the replacement of the Prophets by the figures of the Apostles in the Tree of Jesse had already taken place by the 13th century, although with a different theological symbolism from the Vine, as the *Concordia* between the Old and the New Testament (Mantas 2003, p.351). It has been suggested that Angelos' acceptance of this possibly western influence in elaborating the new iconographic type of Christ the Vine could be interpreted in the light of the imperial policy of Byzantium at that time, which promoted the Union of the Churches, to which Angelos very

likely subscribed (Mantas 2003, pp 349–51). The icons of the Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul (cats 25–7), relating to the reconciliation of the Orthodox and the Catholic Church, possibly indicate Angelos' pro-Unionist feelings (Vassilaki 1990a, pp 405ff). In making these assessments it should be remembered, as has already been discussed, that Angelos held the office of first cantor (*protopsaltes*) of Candia – to which he was appointed by the Venetian authorities, presumably as a person in their trust (Vassilaki 1990, p.414). Furthermore, it is surely no coincidence that the commissioner of the icons and of the greater part of the wall paintings decorating the katholikon at Valsamonero, as attested in the dedicatory inscription (Gerola 1932, vol.4, p.540, nos 1–2), also made provision for the depiction – and indeed in a conspicuous position – of two figures: Gregory Palamas and Anthimos. Gregory Palamas, with his theory of Hesychasm, is considered as having put an end to the Latinisation of Orthodox theology, while Anthimos, *Proedros* (Bishop) of Crete, earned the epithet 'Confessor' through his fervent anti-Catholic and pro-Orthodox activity on the Venetian-occupied island. The choice of these two figures is probably indicative of the political sympathies, in regard to the Unionist issue, of Ionas Palamas – the patron of the building and the decoration with wall paintings of the chapel dedicated to St Phanourios, and of the construction of the iconostasis and the painting of the icons – as well as of the leading circles of the flourishing monastic community of Valsamonero. It has been maintained that Angelos' ability to create new iconographic types, by selecting individual elements from early Byzantine models, played an important role in Cretan icon painting (Vocotopoulos 1994, p.349).

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS



Angelos

The Virgin of Tenderness (Kardiotissa)

Second quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

121 × 96.5 × 2.5 cm

Candia, Crete

Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, BXM

01552

Conservation: T. Margaritoff, Byzantine and Christian Museum Conservation Laboratory, 1951; Th. Papageorgiou, 1976, 1987, 1988.

Literature: Soteriou 1956, p.32, pl.XXXa; Weitzmann *et al.* 1983, pp.223–4, fig.37; Athens 1983, no.1, p.17 (N. Chatzidakis); Hadermann-Misguich 1983, pp.14–15, fig.6; London 1987, no.35, p.170 (N. Chatzidakis); Baltimore 1988, no.44, pp.203–4 (N. Chatzidakis); Baltoyanni 1994, no.26, pp.114–15, pls.54–5; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.27, pp.100–103; Lymberopoulou 2007, pp.185–7, pls.9; Milanou *et al.* 2008, *passim*; London 2008, no.239, p.440 (K–Ph. Kaiatati).

CONFISCATED FROM THE antique-dealer Theodoros Zoumboulakis, this icon came into the possession of the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, in 1951.

The image of the Virgin and Child is represented in the type of the Eleousa (of Mercy) or Glykophilousa (of Tenderness), in which the Christ Child, in his mother's arms and with his back to the viewer, embraces her with a pronounced gesture of his hands and head. The response of the Virgin's head refers clearly to the basic iconographic type of the Eleousa, which had been crystallised by the 10th century at the latest, as attested by examples in wall paintings (Kalavrezou 2000, p.43, fig.18) and ivories (Sendler 1992, p.132). According to some scholars, who refer to an icon in Sinai, this particular variation occurs from at least the 13th century (Athens 1983, p.17), while others consider it to be a creation of Angelos. They argue, moreover, that if it was based on a Palaiologan model, this must have been close in iconography to a fresco representation of the Virgin of Tenderness in the Chora monastery (Baltoyanni 1994, pp.106, 109, fig.9). In the present version, the Virgin holds the Child with her right hand and extends

the left in a gesture of supplication. She wears a purple maphorion, while Christ is dressed in a white chiton embroidered with golden fleurs-de-lis, a purple sash passed in characteristic manner over both shoulders, and a himation with gold striations, which has slipped onto the lower part of his body leaving the right leg bare. Depicted in each of the two upper corners is an archangel in bust with covered hands. Although they do not hold the symbols of Christ's Passion, their actual presence and the Child's loosened sandal allude to the iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion. Inscribed top right on the lustrous gold ground is the epithet of the Virgin, *Η ΚΑΡΔΙΟΤΗΚΑ* – this refers to a homonymous miraculous icon of the Virgin of the Passion, which was in a monastery near Candia from at least 1420, was stolen around 1498 and then turned up later in Rome. The conceptual and functional affinities of the basic iconographic type of the Virgin Eleousa or Glykophilousa with the Passion of Christ have been discussed elsewhere (Sendler 1992, pp.133–7, and cf. 182 with reference to the Virgin of Vladimir; Baltoyanni 1994, pp.80, 107; Vassilaki and Tsironis 2000, pp.453–5). Very close to the Kardiotissa is another variation of the Eleousa, with the epithet Pelagonitissa. This variation also occurs early in a miniature of a 13th-century Serbian Gospel book, as well as in a wall painting of 1318 in the church of St George at Staro Nagoričino (Sendler 1992, p.180). Whether these two variations – the Pelagonitissa and the Kardiotissa – appeared simultaneously during the 13th century or not, it is certain that the first became popular in the region of Serbia–Macedonia and the second mainly in milieux related to Crete (Hadermann-Misguich 1983, p.16). Characteristic of both variations is the marked backward tilt of Christ's head and the restless pose of his body. Associated with both of these variations is a third one, seen during the 14th and the early 15th centuries, which depicts Christ in the Virgin's embrace as reclining (Baltoyanni 1994, p.79). This third variation, though closer in iconography to the Pelagonitissa (Baltoyanni 1994, nos.22–5, pls.43–5, 47), seems to be related to Crete rather than to Macedonia. All three variations could be associated iconographically with the Virgin Glykophilousa in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (BXM 00984, former T137), which comes from Thessaloniki

and is dated to the late 12th century (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.3, pp.20–23). In this icon there appear for the first time several of the iconographic deviations from the type of the Glykophilousa that characterise the above variations.

The icon discussed here bears in its lower part the signature of the painter, in white letters on a red band: *ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos). Apart from the aforementioned icon in the Sinai monastery, the variation is encountered on very few icons earlier than that by Angelos, such as another icon in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (BXM 10663, former T2322), of the early 15th century (Baltoyanni 1994, no.28, pl.52), as well as several contemporary or even later icons: in Siphnos, of the second half of the 15th century (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1981, p.384, pl.274; Baltoyanni 1994, no.27, pl.53); in Zakynthos, of the mid-15th century (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, no.7, pp.64–5); in Naxos, of the early 16th century (Baltoyanni 1994, no.31, pl.50); in Paros (unpublished, Athens 1983, p.17); in the Loverdos Collection (Λ285/ΣΛ247), of the 16th century (Baltoyanni 1994, no.30, pl.56); in Corfu, of the late 16th to early 17th century (Vocotopoulos 1990, no.65, fig.19) and an icon by Emmanouel Tzanes, of 1661, commissioned by Ioannis Menganos (Maltezou 1973, pp.283–90; Hadermann-Misguich 1983, fig.7). In the Siphnos and Zakynthos icons the iconographic differences are minimal in relation to the present icon. The Zakynthos icon has also been attributed to Angelos or one of his close collaborators (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, p.64), as has the Siphnos icon (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1981, p.384; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, p.64), an attribution doubted by others (Baltoyanni 1994, p.116). The dimensions of the icon shown here, as well as the stylistic comparison, suggest that it was intended for an iconostasis, in a single ensemble with the icons of St John the Baptist (BXM 01551, former T2639) and the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, of the Loverdos Collection (cat.32), which are also both signed by Angelos and are now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum. The ensemble was obviously completed by an icon of Christ Pantokrator, now lost or not yet identified (Athens 1983, p.18).

NIKOS KASTRINAKIS



Angelos

The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

127 x 91 cm

Candia, Crete

Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum,

inv.no. A 209/ΣΑ 208 (Loverdos Collection)

Conservation: Th. Papageorgiou, Byzantine and Christian Museum Conservation Laboratory, 1980.

Literature: Athens 1983, pp 18–19, fig.3

(N. Chatzidakis); Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b,

pp 108–11; Iráklion 1993, no.204, pp 554–5

(M. Acheimastou-Potamianou); Lymberopoulou 2007,

pp 191–3, pl.5.15; Milanou *et al.* 2008, *passim*.

TWO SCENES from the Life of the Virgin are represented here: the Presentation in the Temple that occupies the greater part and the Feeding by the Angel. The central figures are gathered beside the entrance to the sanctuary, which is defined by a greenish marble chancel screen. Inside the sanctuary, a high marble baldachin, crowned by a cross, houses the altar table. The three-year-old Mary, in three-quarter pose, stands on the entrance steps, her hands outstretched towards the high priest Zacharias. She wears a chiton, a wimple (kekryphalos) and a maphorion, while her red shoes are just visible under her garment. Above her head an abbreviation reads: *M(HT)HP Θ(EO)Y* (Mother of God).

The elderly figure of Zacharias, with long wavy hair and beard, also rendered in three-quarter pose, is behind the marble chancel screen. He bows and outstretches his hands to receive the Virgin. The holy parents, Joachim and Anne, stand behind the Virgin. Anne is depicted in three-quarter pose with her head bowed slightly to the front. Her right hand, discreetly projecting from her maphorion, holds the elbow of her left arm, extended towards the child Mary. At her side stands Joachim, also in three-quarter pose, with a slight inclination of the head and identical gestures. Behind the couple, the company of Hebrew maidens,

holding lighted candles, comes out of a tall building. The two front figures, with marked contrapposto and torsion of the body, walk turning their heads towards each other as if in conversation. The figure on the right is turned in three-quarter pose to the left, her left leg lightly flexed. She wears an ankle-length chiton, a short peplos and a mantle, falling behind in rich flowing drapery. The figure on the left, also in marked torsion, is in similar dress. Her mantle, affixed to the back of her hair, falls in undulating folds to the back and is fastened by a brooch at her knees. The rest of the maidens follow in a close-packed group of correct perspective, their heads slightly turned towards the central part of the composition, where the Virgin stands.

The Virgin is depicted again, on a second level to the left, inside the sanctuary behind Zacharias, taking food from the angel (*Protevangelion* of James, chs 7, 8). Synopsised in this miniature scene is her long-term stay in the temple. In typical dress, she sits at the top of a marble staircase, beneath a baldachin. Raising her right hand in a gesture of conversation she turns towards the approaching angel, who flies between the two baldachins, holding bread to offer her. The Virgin is identified by the abbreviation *M(HT)HP Θ(EO)Y* (Mother of God). Both scenes take place in front of a high wall decorated with a grisaille lion head. On the right side, a two-storey building stands symmetrically to the staircase. Tied to the ridge of its pitched roof a purple textile spreads out above the wall to the first column right of the baldachin. Another purple textile hangs at the back of the baldachin over the altar table tied to the left. Discernible beneath the vault of the baldachin is the misspelt inscription in capital letters: *TA ΕΙΣΩΑΕΙΑ* (The Presentation). Visible on the red band in the lower part of the icon are letters of an illegible inscription and the signature of the painter: *XEIP AIT[EA OY]* (Hand of Angelos).

Later interventions to the icon altered its original form. Conservation work, which also revealed Angelos' signature, has shown that the gold ground was a later addition, while over-paintings obscured the garments, the hands, the vaults of the buildings and the faces (Papageorgiou 2004, pp 445–6). Prior to its second use, when the icon was cut at the sides, it was of the same dimensions as another two icons

in the Byzantine and Christian Museum – the Virgin Kardiotissa (cat.31) and that of St John the Baptist (inv.no.BXM 01551), both signed by Angelos. It is likely that all three despotic icons were painted by him for the iconostasis of an unknown church (Iráklion 1993, p.555).

The icon shown here is the only large icon painted by Angelos with a composite narrative subject (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, p.108). Harmony in the controlled poses and movements of the figures, and a lyrical disposition in the rendering of the faces, with small expressive eyes, prevail in the composition. Fidelity to Palaiologan tradition is evident in the restrained grief of the faces and the treatment of the drapery. The folds are rather linear, though without losing their plasticity; arranged in geometric shapes and curves that reveal the corporeality and movement of the figures beneath. They are painted with gradations of the same colour, with deep shadows and highlights emphasised either by dark colour or buff and white. The presence of the Virgin is underlined by the use of darker colours.

In his representation of the subject, Angelos repeats an iconographic scheme known from earlier Byzantine depictions (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964–5, pp 136–67 and figs 80, 86, 92). This is an iconographic variation that was elaborated on the basis of Palaiologan models. It is very possible that the type was formed in Crete, just as it is equally possible that Angelos contributed to the final crystallisation of the iconography (Drandakis 1990, p.127; Iráklion 1993, p.555). This iconographic type was widely diffused in post-Byzantine times, and frequently reproduced in icons and wall paintings (Vocotopoulos 1990, pp 27–8, fig.17). The icon discussed here is similar to an icon at Sinai, also of the 15th century (Drandakis 1990, p.207, fig.81, fig.22 in the present catalogue), which is attributed to Angelos on iconographic and stylistic grounds, as well as with the late 15th- to early 16th-century icon now in the Antivouniotissa Museum in Corfu (Vocotopoulos 1990, fig.17).

ANTONIS BEKIARIS





Angelos

St Theodore Teron Slaying the Dragon

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

122.8 x 70 cm

Candia, Crete

Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, inv.no.

A 335/ΣΑ 285 (Loverdos Collection)

Conservation: Th. Papageorgiou, Byzantine and Christian Museum Conservation Laboratory, 1980.

Literature: Athens 1983, no.8, p.24 (N. Chatzidakis); London 1987, no.32, pp.167–8 (Ch. Baltoyanni); Florence 1986, no.55, pp.96–7 (Ch. Baltoyanni); Athens 1994, no.1, p.185 (Ch. Baltoyanni); Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, pp.112–13; Milanou *et al.* 2008, *passim*; London 2008, no.238, p.440 (K.-Ph. Kalafati); New York 2009, no.9, p.52 (N. Konstantios).

ST THEODORE TERON the dragon-slayer, shown against a gold ground in a landscape defined by two rocky mountains, is identified by an inscription in majuscule letters, in the upper part of the icon: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ / ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ο ΤΗΡΩΝ* (St Theodore Teron). The soldier-saint is standing, impulsively drawing his sword from its scabbard and brandishing it above his head, poised to slay the dragon lying supine at his feet. The scabbard is in his left hand, its upturned tip emphasising the spontaneity of his spectacular gesture. The saint is also equipped with a bow and a quiver of arrows, which hang from his left shoulder and the right of his belt respectively. The dragon, which St Theodore tramples with both feet, raises its head menacingly towards the saint, whilst grabbing his right leg at the knee. The saint wears a short military tunic of chain mail with sleeves, a luxurious breastplate lavishly decorated with Renaissance geometric motifs with fine gold striations, a mantle falling to the left in ample folds enhancing his movement, and epaulettes. On his legs are boots. At top right, from a double segment of heaven, projects the hand of God, blessing the saint.

In 1980, during the process of cleaning the icon and removing later interventions found

mainly in its lower part (Papageorgiou 2004, p.446), the signature of the painter was revealed in the lower right: *ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos). The forged signature of another Cretan painter, the hierodeacon Stephanos Tzankarolas (1688–1710) – *ΗΙΟΙΗΜΑ / CΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΤΖΑΝΚΑΡΟΛΑ ΑΧ[.]* – is preserved as part of the work's history at bottom left.

St Theodore was considered the supreme dragon-slaying soldier-saint in Byzantium even before iconoclasm (Walter 2003a, pp.44–66; Walter 2003b, pp.95–106, esp. p.98), although he was later superseded by that other dragon-slayer saint, St George. The slaying of the dragon is described in the *Vita* of St Theodore (Delehaye 1909, p.127; for a detailed description of the miracle, Delehaye 1909, pp.183–201).

In Byzantine representations, St Theodore as dragon-slayer is more often depicted on horseback, plunging his spear into the serpentine monster (Walter 2003a, pp.44–66; Walter 2003b, pp.95–106, pl.5). The iconographic type of the dragon-slayer saint on foot is seen in the late 13th-century enamel now in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg: St Theodore is depicted slaying the dragon with a spear, having dismounted and tied his horse to a nearby tree (Walter 2003b, pp.95–106, pl.5).

In Crete, the representation of the dragon-slayer St Phanourios on foot in the wall paintings of the Valsamonero monastery by Constantinos Eirenikos (1431) is very close to that of St Theodore in this icon (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, p.112; Borboudakis 1988, pp.253–5; Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis 1983, pp.313–21, fig.281; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp.293–4). The painter Angelos had close relations with this particular monastery and was certainly in contact with its abbot, Ionas Palamas, who may have commissioned him to paint at least two icons for the iconostasis of the church (Borboudakis 1988, pp.249, 255; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, p.293). It is thus possible that Angelos was familiar with the representation in the transept of the katholikon of the monastery and used the specific iconographic type in his depiction of St Theodore in the icon being discussed here. After all, it is well known that soldier-saints occupy an important place in the work of Angelos, who painted – or is accredited with – icons of St Demetrios, St Theodore, St George and,

especially, St Phanourios (Chatzidakis 1987, pp.150–53; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, pp.293–4; cf. Vassilakes-Mavrakakes 1980–81, pp.223–38).

The present icon, together with the representation of St Phanourios in the chapel at Valsamonero, is consistent with the general early 15th-century trend for renewing Byzantine iconography, promoted by painters working in Crete and frequently expressing the preferences of their patrons. From the same period there are depictions of the three dragon-slaying saints – George, Theodore and Phanourios – in similar iconographic types, which enjoyed wide diffusion during the post-Byzantine period (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, p.112; Athens 1994, p.185). The painters use a common model, elements of which are repeated each time, as for example on the opulent breastplate, in which influences from Italian art are obvious. The breastplate of St Theodore in the icon seen here is rendered in the same manner as that of St Phanourios in the Patmos icon, also by Angelos (cat.17).

The icon of St Theodore displays all the basic traits of the art of Angelos: the aristocratic nobility and grace of the figure; the careful rendering of the volume and the movement of the body; the characteristic modelling of the face with fine bright brushstrokes, criss-crossing to create illumined planes; the precise outlines; the penchant for detail, apparent not only in the copious gold striations on the breastplate but also in the analytical description of the various accoutrements of his uniform; and the stark ground against which the saintly figure is projected.

ANTONIS BEKIARIS



Angelos (attributed)

The Virgin Life-Receiving Spring (Zoodochos Pege)

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
77 x 40 cm
Candia, Crete
Crete, Hodegetria Monastery

Conservation: N. Kailas, 13th Ephorate of Byzantine
Antiquities.

Literature: Xyngopoulos 1957, pp. 169–70, pl. 46.1; Irákliou
1993, no. 117, pp. 473–4 (M. Borboudakis); Lymberopoulou
2007, pp. 187, 190, pl. 5.11

THE ICONOGRAPHIC type of the Virgin Life-Receiving Spring in this icon is a faithful reproduction of the type that was created in Crete in the first half of the 15th century. The very close stylistic relationship between this unsigned icon and the icons signed by Angelos in the same monastery (Hodegetria), as well as elsewhere, justifies the ascription of this composition to the ability of the painter to create new iconographic types that would become established in the later developments of Cretan painting.

The iconographic subject of the Virgin Life-Receiving Spring derives from the cult that developed at the homonymous holy-water source (*hagiasma*) in Constantinople, outside the walls close to the Silivri Gate. By the early 14th century, an elaborated version of the iconographic subject – with variations in its individual iconographic details – appeared in monumental art (Velmans 1968, pp. 127–34; Teteriatnikov 2005; Etzeoglou 2005).

Basic traits of the early Cretan iconography of the subject are the wide cylindrical basin on a pedestal, in the type of the cylindrical font or *phiale*, and the two taps from which the holy water flows into the square tank. The placement of the Virgin and Child at the centre of the scene, in such a way as to enhance the axial structure of the composition, is also characteristic of the type. Depictions of diverse miracles, which enrich the representation of the Virgin Life-Receiving Spring, are later additions to the

Cretan iconographic type, of which the icon in the Hodegetria monastery is one exemplar.

The Virgin is shown to the waist, as if emerging from inside the cylindrical font in whose waters she appears to dwell, according to the verses of the *Pentekostarion* (Ode 9.3): 'Ἡ γὰρ κόρη Παρθένος ενοικεῖ τῷ ὕδατι' ('The young Virgin dwells in the waters'). The *phiale* rests on a stout conical base in the shape of a stand (*hypostates*). From two spouts, to the sides of the front of the basin, the holy water flows into a tank. The tank is rectangular in shape, with the two narrow sides parallel, and of the same red colour as the *phiale*, indicating that it is made of the same kind of marble. The Virgin wears a dark red maphorion fringed with red lace. Her halo is painted in red on the gold ground of the icon, whereas the halo of Christ is gold and inscribed with the majuscule letters Ο Ω Ν (I Am). Christ wears an ochre himation with gold brushstrokes and outstretches his right hand to the side in a gesture of blessing, while with his left hand he holds a rolled scroll on his thigh.

A distinctive feature of the iconographic type is the central complex of the two figures: the Virgin in strictly frontal pose holds the Christ Child in her lap, apparently emerging from the water in the round font, which is equal in width to the tank, the slightly oblique placement of which gives an illusion of perspective. The taps from which the holy water flows into the tank are also balanced on either side of the front of the round font, their arrangement at the sides of the main axis of the icon contributing thus to the harmonious equilibrium of the whole. The austerity of the composition is achieved by limiting it to the depiction of only the absolutely essential elements of this iconographic type, that is, without the later addition of secondary episodes from the miracles associated with the *hagiasma*.

However, the austerity of the composition that Angelos created for this icon underlines its role as an iconostasis icon. One further characteristic of the icon is the differentiation in the rendering of the two figures. The portrait type of the Virgin reveals Angelos' devotion to the classicising tradition of the Palaiologan art of Constantinople. Evident in the entire oeuvre of Angelos is his constancy in following the Palaiologan tradition, which he continues with

a somewhat painterly disposition in the treatment of the figures as well as in his own distinctive technique of modelling the flesh and executing the highlights. The faces in the icon are modelled in pale rose flesh tones, of limited extent, applied to the brown underlayer. A dense mesh of white linear highlights, alternating successively in thicker and finer, in radiate arrangement, enhances the volumes at particular points. Typical of the trends in the painting of the period is the rendering of the figure of the Christ Child. Although modelled in accordance with the Palaiologan stylistic tradition and in the techniques distinctive of Angelos' oeuvre as a whole, in this particular composition Christ displays a pronounced contrapposto. He is shown full length and sitting obliquely in the Virgin's lap, with his crossed legs to his right, a movement which is counterbalanced by the outfold of his draped himation on the other side. His torso is frontal, while his head turns to his left, and yet his gaze is fixed on the beholder. This type of Christ, in a restless pose due to successive counter-movements of his body, originates from Italian painting, as is ascertained in a series of Italo-Cretan icons of the period (Chatzidakis 1985, p. 47). Although earlier scholarship had argued that there was 'no hint of western influence' in the works by Angelos (Xyngopoulos 1957, p. 170), recent researches have detected Italian influences in his painting, albeit of limited extent (Vocotopoulos 1990, p. 15). The contrapposto observed in the figure of the Christ Child in this icon is due to the impact of western artistic influences, yet the style is the traditional Byzantine. These stylistic traits and the specific technique applied for the modelling of the figures are related directly to other signed works by Angelos and justify the attribution of this unsigned icon to this great painter.

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS

Angelos

The Virgin with Christ and St Catherine

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood, primed with gesso, gold leaf

55.7 × 39 cm

Candia, Crete

Patmos, Holy Monastery of St John the Theologian
(gift of Aikaterina Stavridou, née Miaouli)

Conservation: Ph. Zachariou, 1958; Benaki Museum
Laboratory, 1983.

Literature: Athens 1983, no.9, p.24 (N. Chatzidakis);

Chatzidakis 1985, no.68, pp.116–17, pls.49, 127;

Chatzidakis 1988, p.113, pl.16; Milani *et al.* 2008, *passim*.

THIS ICON is painted directly on the gesso priming of a single board of wood. The paint surface is in quite good condition, except for the faces of the Virgin and Christ and the right upper edge. The representation is harmoniously placed in the rectangular panel of the icon, with the figures projected in alignment against the gold ground. Full length and solid, they stand on a thin dark green strip of foreground. There is no indication of landscape. The haloes – double concentric discs – are incised on the gold ground. High on the background, level with the head and shoulders, are inscribed in red majuscule letters: *Μ(ήτηρ) Θ(εο)Υ* (Mother of God) and *Η ΑΓ(ΙΑ) ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑ* (St Catherine). On the foreground, bottom right, is the signature of the painter *ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos), in black.

Depicted on the left is the Virgin in the type of the Kyriotissa, standing and in frontal pose, with the Christ Child in front of her. She wears a deep-green dress, a dark blue wimple (kekryphalos) and a brownish-red maphorion with fringed edging in places and gold embroidered stars on her right shoulder and her head. Her left knee projects slightly, in a discreet movement barely perceptible in the drapery of her garment. Christ, seated in his mother's embrace, raises his right hand in a gesture of blessing. In his left hand he holds a rolled scroll, tied with red twine. He wears a wide orange himation, embellished with gold brush-

strokes, which forms an undulating outfold in the left part.

St Catherine is standing in frontal pose, attired in a secular garment, cinnabar red and ankle length, accompanied by a precious ochre-coloured loros, embroidered with red and blue precious stones and pearls in harmonious designs. The loros is wound round her and ends above her left hand, where it folds back to reveal a light green lining, while a section is left hanging. Elaborate armlets adorn the sleeves with gold cuffs. Her hair is covered entirely by a red headdress with gold threads and patterned with lozenges, as a kind of net snood. On her head is a gold bejewelled crown of western type, with triangular finials. Her sumptuous formal costume is complemented by intricate earrings with double, fusiform coloured stones. In her right hand is a cross, with tiny crosses at the ends of the arms. She raises her left hand in the typical gesture of martyrs of the Christian faith. Her right leg is to the fore, with the knee slightly projected, interrupting the rectilinear drapery of the garment and forming angular folds.

The absolute balance of the icon is reinforced by the strict immobility, the uniform height, the frontal poses and the restrained gestures. The figures are isolated from the material environment and, with their gaze fixed firmly on the viewer, are portrayed as dematerialised, dignified and formal, their mien aristocratic and their facial features noble.

The iconographic type of the Virgin Kyriotissa, which is frequently confused with the Nikopoios (Striker and Kuban 1997, pp.124–6), is known from the mosaic in the apse of the Koimesis church at Nicaea (just after 834) (Underwood 1959, p.242) and the mosaic panel of Emperor John II Komnenos and his wife Irene, in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople (1122–34) (Whittemore 1942, p.31). The subject is common in some portable icons in the monastery of St Catherine on Sinai, dated from the 10th to the 13th centuries (Stavropoulou-Makri 1975, pp.381–4). One of these bears the title *Μήτηρ Θεοῦ ἡ τῆς Βάτου* (Mother of God of the (Burning) Bush) (Chatzidakis 1970–72, pp.212–14) and is associated with the homonymous parekklesion of the Batos (Burning Bush) at Sinai (Chatzidakis 1985, p.117). The Sinaitic character of the Virgin and Child is reinforced by the presence of St Catherine (Chatzidakis

1988, p.113). Her iconography follows a contemporary Cretan mode – elements of her physiognomy and dress refer to the mid-15th-century wall painting in the church of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (*Eisodia*) at Sklaverochori, and comparable representations on the frame of two late 15th-century icons by Andreas Ritzos, in Tokyo (cat.51) and in the Sinai monastery (Dranakakis 1990, fig.82). The saint is rendered with the same iconographic characteristics on the tondo icon at Skradin in Dalmatia (Djurić 1961, no.57, p.119, pl.LXXVIII), which has been connected with Angelos (Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, p.296, pl.IH'; Vassilaki 1997, pp.165–7, fig.4).

This icon, despite its apparent conventionality, was painted with the exceptional care and subtlety characteristic of the refined art of Angelos. The faces are modelled with gently gradated shadows on the translucent underlayer, to which are added dense, fine highlights. Fine parallel white lines radiate over the cheeks, creating a carefully drawn mesh. This specific stylistic idiom, characteristic of Angelos' art, exists already in 14th-century icons (New York 2004, pp.172–3) such as that of Archangel Michael in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.8, pp.36–9). The folds of the garments, limited by the figures' frontal and restrained poses, are rendered in varying shades of the same colour. The icon displays an overt painterly disposition, lyrical tone and precision of detail – all traits consistent with Angelos' work.

Noteworthy is the reference in the will of the priest Gregorios Maras from Crete, written in own his hand in Venice in 1704, to an icon by Angelos with exactly the same subject. It was bequeathed to the priest Ioannis Bouboulis in Ancona (Mertzios 1960, pp.79–80). While it is tempting to identify the icon in the will with that shown here, it is not possible to verify such a hypothesis. The significance of the icon, apart from the fact that it is a signed work by the painter, is that the choice of subject shows yet again Angelos' close ties with the metochion of the Sinai monastery of St Catherine in Candia (Chatzidakis 1985, pp.116–17; Vassilaki 1994a, pp.88–9).

CONSTANTIA KEPHALA



Angelos

The Deesis

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

47.6 × 40.6 cm

Candia, Crete

Athens, Canellopoulos Museum, inv.no.E84

Literature: Athens 1983, no.5, pp.21–2 (N. Chatzidakis);

N. Chatzidakis 2006, with all the earlier bibliography;

N. Chatzidakis and Scampavias 2007, no.125, pp.172–5.

DOMINATING THE centre of this icon is the figure of Christ, seated on a wood throne with curved back and rectangular openings adorned with colonnettes in the vertical sides. The intricately carved lower ends of the legs are reminiscent of Corinthian column capitals. It is painted ochre, with dense oblique gold striations and a few foliate ornaments. On the seat are a greenish-blue cushion behind and a cinnabar one in front, upon which Christ sits. The cushion on the footstool, on which Christ's feet rest, is the same shade of red. He blesses with his right hand in front of his chest, the palm outwards and the last two fingers joined with the thumb. In his left hand he holds the spine of a closed Gospel book, supported upright on his left thigh. The codex has a gem-studded binding with dense gold striations and two clasps; the thickness of the pages is shown in cinnabar red.

At a smaller scale either side of and slightly behind the throne are the Virgin and St John the Baptist. Both are turned in three-quarter pose towards Christ, with head bowed and hands outstretched in a gesture of supplication. The Virgin's hands are in parallel position, whereas the Baptist's cross at the wrist. The Virgin's gaze is turned towards Christ; the Baptist's is directed at the viewer.

The ground of the icon is gold; the figures stand on a green foreground. The haloes are outlined with stamped dots; that of Christ is plain and inscribed with a cross, with the now effaced inscription *O [Ω]N* (I Am) on the cross arms. The haloes of the Virgin and the Baptist are decorated with a row of incised cotangen-

tial circles, inside which five tiny stamped stars form a cross. The interstices between the circles are filled with stamped dots. On the ground left of the Virgin's halo are the ligatures *MP ΘY* (Mother of God) written in red majuscules, while either side of the halo of Christ are the ligatures *IC XC* (Jesus Christ), again in red lettering. The nominative inscription of St John is effaced. Lastly, preserved lower left, is the painter's signature in black: *XEIP AFTEAOY* (Hand of Angelos). This type of signature, in identical black majuscules, is the one most commonly used by the painter (Chatzidakis 1987, p.147). Indeed, the manner of writing the two gammas, the first smaller than the second and stuck to it, is characteristic.

The icon is in fairly good condition. There is sporadic damage and flaking of the paint surface (particularly in the lower part) and the gold ground (many letters from the nominative inscriptions are lost, as well as most of the fine red lines defining the arms of the cross on Christ's halo). These, however, do not affect the composition or the rendition of the figures. The figure of Christ has suffered most damage, from an earlier somewhat inept cleaning of unknown date, when the intermediate tones of the face were removed and some artless white highlights added, adulterating the expression. The icon was coated with hard varnish, causing light craquelure on the surface. Fortunately, the faces of the Virgin and St John the Baptist have not been harmed by these interventions.

The faces and the flesh in general are worked in wheaten tones on the dark brown under-layer, while extremely fine ochre-white highlights, applied with almost calligraphic delicacy, emphasise the prominent points. The transition from the shadowed to the illumined planes is almost imperceptible. The palette is frugal, with essentially four colours and the tones are subdued. The limited use of bright cinnabar red is in dialectical counterpoint to the rest of the severe, muted shades, and tends to emphasise them. All the above are typical of Angelos' art, as other scholars have noted (Charleroi 1982, no.1 (Th. Chatzidakis); Iráklion 1993, pp.512–13 (M. Borboudakis)). If to these we add the fact that the cracks in the paint surface continue over the letters of the signature, then there is no doubt as to its authenticity, as has been written – without

documentation (Baltoyanni 2003, p.69).

A striking feature of this icon is Christ's disproportionately large head. This impression is heightened by the luxuriant hair, hanging behind both shoulders (instead of just the left shoulder, as is usual). In addition, the portrait type moves away from the ideal male beauty of Constantinopolitan tradition (which held sway in Cretan painting) and displays a greater realism, in contrast to the type that Angelos himself used in another signed icon of the same subject, in the Agia Moni Viannou (Iráklion 1993, fig.157). As has been remarked elsewhere (Athens 1983, nos 4–5; Iráklion 1993, pp.512–13), this differentiation is indicative of the stages in the painter's development and places this work in the later years of his artistic career. The Byzantine iconographic subject of the Deesis was one of the most popular in Cretan painting. Another two signed icons by Angelos of the same subject, but with significant differences in their iconography, have survived – one in the Agia Moni Viannou (cat.46) and the other in the Sinai monastery (N. Chatzidakis 2006, p.285). Another icon of the Deesis, in a private collection in London, has been attributed to Angelos (London 1994, no.230, p.216, (M. Vassilaki)).

Beginning from an early 15th-century Deesis in the Collection of St Catherine of the Sinaites, in Iráklion (Iráklion 1993, no.92, pp.445–6 (M. Borboudakis); New York 2009, no.3, p.44 (M. Vassilaki)), the iconographic type of the icon shown here acquired strictly predetermined characteristics which are identically encountered in a series of 15th-century icons, including works by such renowned painters of the period as Nikolaos Tzafouris in Corfu (cat.56) and Nikolaos Ritzos in Sarajevo (Vocotopoulos 2005). The frequent, almost identical reproduction of this type by different painters throughout the 15th century and into the 17th (central leaf of a triptych in the Canellopoulos Museum, inv.no.E270) attests to the existence of a common working drawing (*anthivolon*) (N. Chatzidakis 2006, *passim* and especially p.291).

CONSTANTINOS SCAMPAVIAS



Angelos

St George on Horseback Slaying the Dragon

Second quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood.

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

40.8 × 37.5 cm

Candia, Crete

Athens, Benaki Museum, inv.no.28129 (purchased in June 1986, with a donation from the A.G. Leventis Foundation)

Conservation: E. Karayanni, 1975; I. Vranopoulou, Benaki Museum Conservation Laboratory, 1993.

Literature: Boura 1986, pp. 26–7; Vocotopoulos 1987, pp. 410–14; Vassilaki 1989, pp. 208–14; Vassilaki 1991b, pp. 41–9; Athens 1994, no. 46, p. 225 (M. Vassilaki); Delivrias 2000, p. 70, fig. on p. 76; Lymberopoulou 2007, p. 196, pl. 5.18; Milanou *et al.* 2008, *passim*; Bucharest 2008, no. 14, pp. 30–31 (P. Benatou); New York 2009, no. 10, p. 53 (P. Benatou).

THIS REPRESENTATION of St George on horseback and slaying the dragon is on a small, square, solid panel of cypress wood with a slightly raised integral frame.

Against a gold ground, the saint is turned in three-quarter pose to the right and mounted on his steed, which gallops with the front legs raised, on the dark brown foreground. He wears a dark greyish-green chemise with long tight-fitting sleeves, a short dark grey tunic and a long cinnabar-red mantle. Tied in a knot on the chest, it falls loosely on the shoulders, folds over and flutters behind with a triangular end. The brown-ochre breastplate, patterned with gold floral and geometric motifs, is held in place by a reinforcing metal band on the chest, epaulettes (the right is shown) and two rows of plates below the pelvis. On the legs are high brick-red boots and light-brown greaves. Visible next to the left shoulder is a small part of a convex shield, tied loosely by a strap to the saint's left hand and round his waist. Framing the saint's head are rows of circular curls with olive-green highlights around the ear. His halo has an incised outline. In his right hand he holds a spear, which he plunges into the dragon on the ground. The three-headed monster is dull green

with cinnabar-red wings. Its tail coils around the hind legs of the horse, which rears in fright. The horse is light grey with knotted tail; its bridle and saddle are cinnabar red. The landscape is defined by two light-ochre prismatic rocks. Either side of the saint's head is his name in red capital letters: *O AΓΙΟC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC* (St George). At top right, between two dark blue segments of heaven, projects the hand of God blessing the saint. George sits robustly on his horse and looks with a hint of melancholy at the dragon, endowing the icon with an academic character. At bottom left in black letters is the signature: *ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos) (Chatzidakis 1987, pp. 147–54).

Stylistically the icon displays all the traits of Cretan art of the first half of the 15th century, in which Palaiologan roots are combined with Italian influences. The particular characteristics of Angelos' art are obvious in the masterly drawing, the gentle modelling of the flesh with soft tonal gradations upon the brown underlayer, the olive-green shadow and the rouging, the dense mesh of radiate white highlights, succeeding from fine to broad. This mesh of highlights is excellently preserved on the saint's hands and the hand of God in blessing, and to a lesser extent on George's face, which is considerably effaced. Notable too is the compact and taut modelling of the horse's body. Basic points of the composition, such as the saint's mantle, are incised, perhaps pointing to the use of a pricked working drawing. If this is so, it may be supposed that such drawings existed (Vassilaki 1995, pp. 34–6; Vassilaki 2000, pp. 95–7) among the *disegni* mentioned in Angelos' will (Manoussakas 1960–61a, p. 147).

The softness and plasticity of the drapery of the saint's mantle, the supple greaves and the modelling of the horse reveal Late Gothic influences. Some elements of the composition are encountered in works by the 14th-century Venetian painter Paolo Veneziano. This iconographic scheme finds its iconographic parallel in the depiction of St George in the polyptych in the church of San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna, dated to the mid-14th century and attributed to Veneziano (Boura 1986, pp. 26–7, fig. 20; cf. Vocotopoulos 1987, pp. 412–21, pls 66a, γ, 69γ; Vassilaki 1989, pp. 208–14, figs 96–7; Vassilaki 1991b, pp. 42–3, pl. 27). The type of horse – the way in which it rears on its hind legs, the trappings, the saddle and the knotted

tail – is the same in both works. Veneziano's horse type is modelled on the horses of San Marco (Vassilaki 1991b, p. 42, pl. 27; N. Chatzidakis 1993, p. 3). The figure of the dragon as a winged monster also appears in both. Lastly, the type of breastplate worn by St George is reminiscent of that in the representation on the polyptych, but more closely resembles that of Archangel Michael in the same work. Angelos further borrows from this representation the saint's red mantle tied on the chest (Muraro 1970, pl. 100).

This iconographic type already existed in the monumental painting of Crete in the 14th and the early 15th century (Vassilaki 1989, p. 213, figs 30–31; Vassilaki 1991b, pp. 44, pl. 28α–β), for example in a wall painting in the church of St George at Anydri, Selino, 1323 (Lassithiotakis 1959, p. 160, pl. KZ) and in St Isidore at Kakodiki, Selino, 1421 (Maderakis 1978, pl. 48β). However, the type of St George on horseback slaying the dragon, with the iconographic elements that Angelos adopted, is also identified in works in distant Georgia during the 15th century, such as a fresco in the church of St George at Alaverdi (Vassilaki 1991b, pp. 44–5, pl. 30) and on the metal cross of Tchekhari (Vassilaki 1989, pp. 213–14, fig. 33; Vassilaki 1991b, pp. 44–5, pl. 29).

Angelos is accredited with introducing the iconographic type of the mounted dragon-slaying soldier-saint into the genre of icon-painting. This type was reproduced faithfully in a large number of portable icons of the period – such as those from the Hellenic Institute in Venice, dated to the late 15th century (Kazanaki 2005, no. 14, p. 45); an icon presented for auction at Sotheby's (Chatzidakis 1981–2, p. 201, fig. 5), dated to the second half of the 15th century and attributed to the workshop of Andreas Ritzos (Vassilaki 1991b, p. 49, pl. 32a); as well as the two-zone icon in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (with the Annunciation above and St George slaying the dragon below) which too has been associated with the workshop of the Ritzos painters (Vassilaki 1990b, pp. 75–81, fig. 1). Lastly, this iconographic type was copied in a host of 16th- and 17th-century icons, such as icons on Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 23, pp. 75–6, no. 135, p. 162, pls 64, 92), and in the Chania Archaeological Museum (Borboudakis 1975, no. 32, pp. 93–4, fig. 32).

PANORAI BENATOU



Angelos

Winged St John the Baptist in the Desert

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

43.5 × 32.5 × 2.5 cm

Candia, Crete

Belgium, Mälines, Hof van Busleyden Museum,

inv.no.5173

Literature: Wittman and Coninx 1930, pp 25–37;
Lafontaine-Dosogne 1976, pp 121–44; Charleroi 1982,
no.2 (N. Chatzidakis); Lafontaine-Dosogne 1983, pp 7–9.

IN GOOD GENERAL condition, this icon shows signs of past restoration/conservation work. The four edges have been smoothed down; the gold background, the inscription at the top, and the Baptist's face have been retouched; and the tempera is covered with linseed oil.

The saint – identified by the nominative inscription in black capitals at the top left and centre on the gold background, *Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟ)C ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗC) Ο ΠΡΟΔ(ΟΜ)ΟC* (St John the Baptist) – is shown in the desert as a full-length, tall, thin and winged figure in three-quarter view to the right. He wears a blue camel-hair skin underneath a brownish/olive-green himation. His hair is dishevelled and curly in its lower part; his beard is straggly. His wings are blue on the inside, matching his camel-hair skin, and brown on the outside. In his left hand he holds a staff with a decoration and a cross at the top, and an open scroll with an inscription written in black capital letters: *‘ΟΡΑC ΟΙΑ ΠΑCΧΟΥ/ CΙΝ, Θ Ω(ΕΟ)Υ ΛΟΓΕ ΟΙ/ ΠΙΤΑΙCΜΑΤ(ΩΝ) ΕΛΕ/ ΓΧΟΙ Τ(ΩΝ) ΒΔΕΛΙΚΤΕ(ΩΝ), / ΕΛΕΓΧΟΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΓΑΡ ΜΗ / ΦΕΡΩΝ Ο ΗΡΩΔΗC. ΤΕ/ ΤΜΗΚ(ΕΝ) ΙΔΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΕΜ(ΗΝ) / ΚΑΡΑΝ / C(ΩΤ)ΕΡ’* (‘You see what they suffer, O Word of God, those who condemn the faults of the loathsome, and therefore, Herod, not being able to bear my condemnation, behold, severed my head, Saviour’). With a gesture indicative of speech, his right arm is extended and bent at the elbow towards the upper right-hand corner, where Christ is depicted in half length. Christ appears

within a segment of heaven with gold striations, in three-quarter view to the left, blessing John with his right hand and holding a closed scroll in his left. He wears a golden himation and bears a cruciform nimbus, to the left of which the Greek capitals *‘ΙC ΧC’* (Jesus Christ) are visible. Two ranges of grey mountains dominate the background flanking John, rendered in the typical Byzantine manner. A tree is placed in front of each mountain; the one on the lower left-hand corner has an axe upon it. On the lower right-hand corner the severed, haloed head of the Baptist is displayed in a bowl, identified by the letters *ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗC)* (John). The signature of the painter – *ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟ(Υ)* (Hand of Angelos) – is placed under the bowl.

It is thought that this iconographic type was introduced into post-Byzantine Cretan painting by Angelos, whose signature also appears on another icon depicting a winged St John at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens. Giving the Baptist wings is inspired by the Gospels, where Christ calls John ‘messenger’ (*ἄγγελος*) (Matthew 11:10; Mark 1:2), repeating the prophecy in Malachi 3:1, also found in Exodus 23:20 and 32:34. The tree with the axe is also based on the Gospels (Matthew 3:10; Luke 3:9). The bowl with the Baptist's severed head is a reference not only to his beheading (Matthew 14:1–12; Mark 6:16–29), mentioned in the text of the scroll, but also to the feast of the Finding of the Baptist's Head, celebrated by the Greek Orthodox Church annually on 24 February (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1989–90, p.106 and n.9 on p.107; Iráklion 1993, no.88, p.441). It therefore has liturgical connotations (Schwartz 1997, pp 171–2). The staff held by John has been interpreted as a symbol of his martyrdom (Schwartz 1997, p.172). The words on the Baptist's scroll, however, are not found in any textual source. Used exclusively in the context of this particular iconographic type it seems the text was specifically composed for the scroll in such images (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1976, pp 142–3, n.53–4). It has been proposed that Angelos was responsible for the wording (Athens 1983, no.2, p.18 (N. Chatzidakis)), since he was well acquainted with the liturgy (Vassilaki 1989, p.208, n.16).

The large dimensions of Angelos' other signed work at the Byzantine and Christian

Museum, and other surviving examples of this iconographic type, indicate that this type was originally created to be part of the iconostasis (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1989–90, p.108). In all the examples, the Baptist is depicted in three-quarter view turned either to the right or to the left – consistent with panels to be placed either on the left or the right in the iconostasis. The relatively modest dimensions of this icon, however, suggest that the type was also used in private devotion, which is confirmed by other panels of even smaller dimensions (N. Chatzidakis 1998, no.10, pp 116–21) and small triptychs (Drandaki 2002, no.7, pp 48–51). These small panels may have been owned by members of the Orthodox community named John or Joanna. Their name days are celebrated mainly on 7 January, the day that the Greek Orthodox Church commemorates the Baptism of Christ – an event referred to indirectly by the word *‘πάσχουσιν’* (from the verb *πάσχω*, to suffer) at the beginning of the scroll text. Christ himself referred to his Passion (*Πάθος*, a noun derived from the verb *πάσχω*) as Baptism (Matthew 20: 22–23; Luke 12: 50), and his Baptism is closely related to his death on the cross and resurrection (Romans 6:3–23) (Lymberopoulou 2003b, p.23). Furthermore, in this particular type, the role of the Baptist as a personal intercessor, second only to the Virgin Mary, is underlined by his interaction with Christ whose blessing he clearly has.

Although the type was created on Crete during the period of Venetian domination, with strong and fruitful cross-cultural interactions between the native Greek Orthodox and the Catholic Venetians, the winged St John the Baptist is devoid of the hybridic iconographic elements that appear in other types introduced at the same time, such as the *Madre della Consolazione* (Lymberopoulou 2003a). This, plus the fact that western ecclesiastical authorities tended to regard John's similarity to angels as heretical (Lymberopoulou 2003b, p.21), probably explains why the winged St John was never adopted in western art. Thus, despite the adaptations it underwent in this era, post-Byzantine art did not become wholly detached from its ‘original’ (that is, Greek Orthodox) audience: it served as a means to keep intact certain aspects of the cultural and religious identity of that audience.

ANGELIKI LYMBEROPOULOU



Angelos (attributed)

The Nativity

First half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

52.5 × 40 cm

Crete

Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum,

inv.no. BXM 2021

Conservation: V. Anapliotou, Byzantine Museum
Conservation Laboratory, 2001

Literature: Lazarides 1976, p.10; Chrysosoulakis and Barlas 1982, pp.80–86, figs. 1–12; Athens 1984, no.13, pp.26–7 (Ch. Baltoyanni); Acheimastou-Potamianou 1985, p.85; Iraklion 1993, no.202, pp.552–3 (Ch. Baltoyanni); Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, p.92, figs on pp.93–5; London 1998, no.21, pp.128–32, fig. on p.130 (Ch. Baltoyanni); Athens 1999, no.2, pp.161–3 (Ch. Baltoyanni); Athens 2002, no.32, p.146, fig. on p.147 (K.-Ph. Kalaphati).

THE BOARD OF this icon has a slightly raised frame. The subject is developed as a many figured composition, with secondary episodes framing the central scene. The action takes place in a mountainous landscape defined by three rocky peaks in the background. Dominating the centre is the cave mouth, within which the Infant Christ lies swaddled in a cist-shaped manger. He is identified by the abbreviations *I(ησους)C X(ριστός)C*. Behind the manger, two animals bow towards the Infant. Outside the cave, on a flat surface, the Virgin reclines on a red palliasse, her gaze turned towards the scene of the Bathing, at the bottom left corner of the composition. To the right of the Bathing scene, upon a rock beside a low tree, sits Joseph, his back turned to the Virgin and the Infant. Unable to understand the Mystery of the Immaculate Conception (Kalokyris 1956, p.36; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1975b, pp.209–10), he converses with two shepherds, one elderly in a black sheepskin and the other young with short tunic and Frankish hat (cf. Vocotopoulos 1995, p.224). Both figures reappear in the scene of the angel bringing the glad tidings of the Divine Incarnation to the shepherds, on the right side of the icon. Here the young shepherd's hat has slipped onto the nape of his neck, as he lifts his head to see the angel, a

detail that attests the painter's eagerness for realism. Close to the episode of the Annunciation to the Shepherds is a young herdsman sitting on a rock and playing a pipe. This figure already occurs in Middle Byzantine representations of the Nativity of Christ, inspired by the phrase in the Gospel of St Luke (2:8): 'Now there were in the same country shepherds living out in the fields, keeping watch over their flock by night.'

Here the young shepherd wears a hat made of leaves, as is the case in the wall painting of the Nativity in the church of the Peribleptos at Mystras (Chatzidakis 1989, fig.46). This feature attests the painter's interest in depicting realistic details of pastoral life. Analogous elements are adopted at other points of the icon, such as the hare near the tree trunk behind Joseph, the roe deer drinking water in the bottom right corner and the curled-up dogs a short distance behind it. The depiction of animals such as these, also known from representations of the Nativity in churches at Mystras, bespeaks of western influence (London 1987, no.30, p.166; Vocotopoulos 1995, p.224). By contrast, the depiction of the sheep at the brook is a standard Byzantine element in depictions of the Nativity, inspired by the passage in the apocryphal *Protevangelion* of James (ch.18), in which goats are described bending over the water but not drinking (Ristow 1971, col.656).

On the left side, almost symmetrical to the Annunciation to the Shepherds, is the Journey of the Magi, guided by an angel. Partly visible at the centre of the upper part is the star; a ray of light beams down onto the cave. At either side of the middle mountaintop is the choir of glorifying angels, in accordance with the narrative of the Gospel of Luke (2:14): 'ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΥΨΙCΤΟΙC ΘΕΩ ΕΠΙ ΤΗC ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙC ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ' ('Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men') is written above the summit. The angels are divided into two large choirs, as is the case in Palaiologan representations of the Nativity, such as the wall painting in the Pantanassa at Mystras (Chatzidakis 1989, fig.64; cf. Kalokyris 1956, p.38). Angels also fly towards the manger.

Iconographic analysis of the composition has revealed that this icon belongs in the tradition of Late Palaiologan art, as seen in the mural decoration of churches in Constantinople, Thessaloniki and Mystras (cf. London 1987, no.30, pp.166–7; Drandaki 2002, pp.27–9). The slender

figures, the radiant noble faces, the refined gestures as well as the fine-grained well-processed pigments and the careful burnishing all point towards a very accomplished icon workshop in Crete, active during the first half of the 15th century. The icon belongs to a group of early 15th- to early 16th-century Cretan icons of the Nativity (Vocotopoulos 1990, pp.90–91; Drandaki 2002, p.34), including icons in the Andreadis Collection (cat.5), the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (Lazarev 1967, fig.584), the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, Venice (cat.14), and at the monastery of St John the Theologian, Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, no. 53, pp.97–8). The present icon displays greatest affinity with the icon from the Hellenic Institute in Venice. Common to these works is a peculiar iconographic detail: the choir of glorifying angels and the central mountaintop projected against a star-spangled sky defined by an arc. This has been interpreted as a survival from an archetypal representation, a wall painting in a conch or an icon with a curved top (Vocotopoulos 1995, p.224).

The icon here displays two elements which help identify the person who commissioned it and the church in which it was dedicated. The coat of arms below the figure of Joseph is that of the Kallergis family (London 1998, p.131; Athens 1999, no.2, pp.161–3), the only Greek Orthodox family in Crete to have entered the ranks of Venetian nobility (Panagiotakes 1968, p.45). On the left side below the Journey of the Magi there is a scene in miniature scale depicting monks in front of the katholikon of a monastery. On the facade of the church an inscription reads: *ΑΓΙΟC ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC* (St Nicholas) (London 1998, p.132). On the basis of this scene, it has been proposed that this was the monastery located at Kedri, mentioned in a document of 1500 (Cattapan 1977, no.15, p.215), in which the painter Andreas Paviar encharges Giorgio da Grado, from Kedri castle, to take delivery from a nun of an icon of the Nativity by the master Angelos. The identification of the icon discussed here with the specific work by Angelos mentioned in the document seems most likely. Whatever the case, this icon was created in Crete in the first half of the 15th century when Angelos was active in Candia.

TERPSICHOI-PATRICIA SKOTTI



Angelos

St John the Theologian and Prochoros

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
66.5 x 50.7 cm
Crete, Candia
Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, Sacristy

Literature: Xyngopoulos 1957, pl.46.3; Weitzmann 1980, no.20, pl.22; Chatzidakis 1987, no.21, fig.11; Drandakis 1990, p.127, fig.80; Vassilaki 1991a, pp.73–4, pl.21β; Vassilaki 1994b, p.127, pl.188.5; Vassilaki 2009, pp.171–2, fig.9.4.

ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST, on the left, sits at the mouth of the cave dictating the text of his Gospel to his disciple Prochoros, who is on the right. Both figures sit on wooden stools; that of John is larger and has a red cushion on the seat. The Evangelist turns his head backwards to receive the divine inspiration from the hand of God, which projects from a segment of heaven. A triple ray beams from here towards John. Prochoros has already written on a white sheet of paper the beginning of the Gospel according to John: *‘EN APXH HN O AO(yoc)’* (‘In the beginning was the Word’) (John 1:1). In the cave appears a low wooden table with the inkwell, while further inside is a basket of manuscripts in the form of a scroll. The name of the Evangelist, *O AΓΓΙΟC ΙΩ(άννης) Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ* (St John the Theologian), written on the gold ground above the cave, is a later over-painting, surely in the same position as the original inscription. Above Prochoros’ head is the inscription *O AΓΓΙ(ος) ΠΡΟΧΟΡΟΣ*. The two painted frames of the icon, in orange and blue, are a later over-painting.

The scheme of the representation is based upon an iconographic convention, in which the cave of the Apocalypse on Patmos is combined with the writing of John’s Gospel. However, as is well known, it was the text of the Revelation that John wrote in the Patmos cave and not his Gospel, as the representation implies (Ševčenko 1988, pp.169–78).

This iconographic subject often appears in illuminated Gospel books (Vassilaki 1994b, pp.127–8). It is encountered more rarely in monumental painting, such as the wall paintings in the church of the Protaton and the katholikon of the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos (Tsigaridas 2003, fig.30; Millet 1927, pl.83.1), and is even rarer in portable icons prior to the 15th century, when it was established in Cretan painting and was reproduced in icons and triptychs (Vassilaki 1994b, pp.326–8, pl.XXXII, figs 12, 15; Chatzidakis 1985, pls 107.52, 119.64).

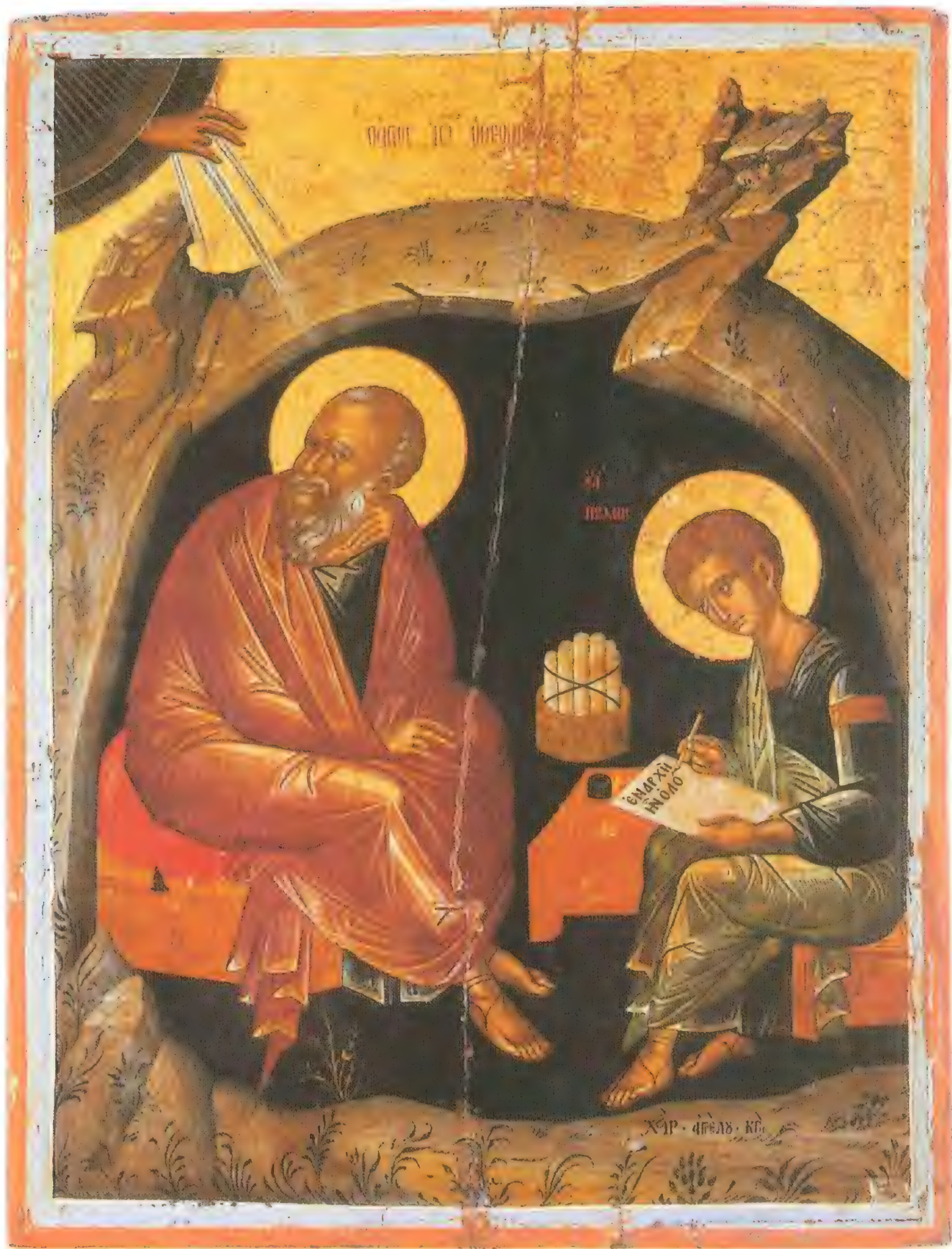
The icon here reproduces the composition of two representations of the subject, which are associated with Crete and dated to the early

decades of the 15th century – that is, prior to the icon by the Cretan painter. These are the miniature on folio 3 of codex W.335 in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, which was copied and illuminated at Candia, Crete in 1415 (see chapter 7 in the present catalogue, p.115 and fig.21) and an icon that was part of a composite work, now dismembered and dispersed in museums abroad and private collections (Haustein-Bartsch 2000, pp.14–16, figs 22, 23; fig.17 in chapter 5 of the present catalogue). These two works have been correlated with the presence of Constantinopolitan painters settled in Candia (Cattapan 1968, pp.29–46, especially 35, 37–8, 41–2; Cattapan 1972, pp.202–35, especially 204; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2009) and linked with their artistic production (Vassilaki 1991a, pp.69–74; Vassilaki 1994b, pp.327–8; see also chapter 5 in the present catalogue).

As is the case with so many other compositions by the painter Angelos, this iconographic subject too was to be established through his icons and was to be copied ‘to the letter’ by subsequent generations of painters, Cretan and other. The icon of St John the Theologian and Prochoros in the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, Venice (cat.60), painted by Emmanuel Lambardos from Rethymno in 1602, is one of the incontrovertible testimonies of the influence that Angelos’ composition was to exert on later painters.

The painter’s signature *XEIP AΓΓΕΛΟΥ ΚΡΗΤΟΥC* (Hand of Angelos the Cretan) is written on the foreground in front of Prochoros’ feet. It differs from the established type of Angelos’ signature in that it refers to the painter’s native island, Crete. This reference is a later addition, made during the over-painting of the signature, probably by Ioannes Kornaros. Between the years 1775 and 1790, this Cretan painter was resident in Sinai, where, at the invitation of the Cretan abbot of St Catherine’s monastery, Kyrillos II, he undertook to over-paint the icons on the iconostasis of the katholikon (Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981, p.292).

MARIA VASSILAKI



Angelos

Prophet Elijah

Second quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

95.2 x 71.5 x 3.5 cm

Candia, Crete

Naxos, Chora, church of Prophet Elijah, inv.no.1021

Conservation: M. Michailidou, 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, 2007.

Literature: Drandakis 1964, p.428, pl.5 11a-b; Baltoyanni 1994, pp 22-3, pls 14-15.

THE PANEL IS made from two pieces of walnut wood with integral raised frame, held in place by two wooden battens, one of which survives. At the midpoint of the lower edge is a socket, possibly for supporting the icon when processed in litany; on the back traces of priming and writing in red pigment are visible.

The Prophet Elijah is sitting in the mouth of a cave 'by the brook Cherith, which flows into the Jordan', where he was sent by God who commanded ravens to feed him with bread in the morning and bread and meat in the evening (1 Kings 17:2-6). The cave is set in a rocky landscape schematically rendered; two symmetrical jagged crags at the edges are bordered by a tree on the right and a bush on the left. The expansive figure of the aged prophet occupies most of the icon. He gazes left at the raven flying towards him with a loaf of bread in its beak, his right hand propping his head and his left hand resting on his knee. He wears a long green chiton, with folds in lighter shades of green, and over this a dark red sheepskin, the fleece of which is ochre. His halo, defined by a dotted double circle, was damaged by the placement of a silver crown at a later date. Elijah's name is written on the upper part of the icon: ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΑΣ; the painter's signature in black capital letters is placed in the lower right corner: ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ (Hand of Angelos).

The technique of modelling the flesh with successive layers of diluted pigments on a brown under-layer creates the impression of

volume; white highlights applied directly to the brown underlayer brighten the prophet's body and face. The prominent parts are emphasised by wavy white lines, describing the hair, beard and facial features, while volume on the hands is achieved through a mesh of criss-crossing white lines. The facial features are faintly discerned, for the light is focused on the hair and beard. In contrast to the flesh, the drapery of the garments is flat and geometric, with wide, rigid folds.

The at once robust and serene figure of the old man is stylistically akin to two other icons signed by the artist: St John the Baptist at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.2, pp 18-20) and the Deesis at the Agia Moni Viannou, Crete (cat.46). In both icons the modelling of the face of St John, with white highlights applied directly to the brown underlayer and the dynamic geometric drapery, are technical traits distinctive of the artist's work originating in Late Palaiologan painting. The St John the Baptist icon displays some similarities in the rendering of the landscape and of the tree in front of the prophet.

The icon here is included among the thirty or so signed works by Angelos, but it is the only one that presents this subject. The iconographic type of the seated prophet in front of a cave appears for the first time in miniature painting of the 12th century (for example, Paris gr.1528, fol.88v (Bibliothèque nationale)), and was adopted later in monumental painting (such as in Gračanica, 1320, and in the Timios Prodromos monastery at Serres, 1333-45; Xyngopoulos 1973, p.22, pl.22), in manuscript illumination (for instance the Sinaitic ms.gr.2123, dated to 1242), as well as in icons (including a 14th-century icon with the Prophet Elijah from Mount Athos, today at the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (Chatzidakis 1985, p.81)). Angelos adopted a well-known subject of Palaiologan art and established an iconographic type for the Prophet Elijah, which was copied by Cretan painters in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The icon is placed on the iconostasis of the church of Prophet Elijah, which stands adjacent to the Neochori Gate in the Burgo of Naxos (Mastoropoulos 2004-5, p.378). The church today is a composite building: a

chapel dedicated to St Spyridon was added to the south of the original single-naved church of Prophet Elijah. Another icon attributed to Angelos with the representation of the Virgin of Tenderness, bearing the epithet *Η ΕΙΤΑΡΑΥΟΤΙΚΑ* (Engardytisa), is also found on the same iconostasis of the church, to the left of the sanctuary doors (cat.43).

On the lintel of the main entrance to the church, in second use and possibly placed upside down, is preserved a stone relief with the coat of arms of the Crispo family (Keffaliniadis and Slot 1980). This strongly suggests that the donors of the church may have been members of the house of the Dukes of Naxos: the coat of arms may be associated with the Duke Giacomo I Crispo (1397-1418), who had participated in a naval alliance with the Byzantine emperor (Mazarakis 1998, pp 371-2, pl.113c); and Giacomo II Crispo (1433-47), grandson of Giacomo I, founded a church dedicated to Prophet Elijah in the Chora of Naxos (Miller 1908, pp 608-9). The Crispo crest is here combined with a cross, between the arms of which are placed the four 'B's. This cross with the four 'B's is a characteristic emblem of the Byzantine state, which was permitted to be used by foreigners, provided they were connected by marriage to the Palaiologan dynasty or had served the Empire. Some western architectural features of the church, such as the pointed barrel vaults, corroborate the hypothesis that the founding of the church or its renovation during the second quarter of the 15th century was due to members of the Crispo family.

The donors of the church may have commissioned the icon of the eponymous saint from Angelos, identified as the Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos (Manoussakas 1960-61a; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981). The flourishing society of the Burgo of Naxos, the capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago, during the first half of the 15th century was both sufficiently prosperous and cultured to appreciate the work of such an excellent painter from Venetian-held Crete, with which the Duchy was in continuous contact.

CHRYSANTHI SAKELAKKOU



Angelos (attributed)

St John the Theologian

Second quarter of 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

104 × 73 × 3 cm

Candia, Crete

Naxos, Chora, Burgo, church of the Transfiguration of Christ, iconostasis, A.M.1082

Conservation: M. Michailidou, 1983.

Literature: Kalokyris 1960a, p.8, pl.B, fig.2; Kalokyris 1960b, p.264, pl.201a–b; Xyngopoulos 1960–61, pp.94,2,95; Drandakis 1964, pp.425–6, pl.506a–b; Chatzidakis 1987, p.150, fig.10.

THE ICON is painted on a panel consisting of three wooden boards, two wide and one narrow, and surrounded by an integral slightly raised frame. Three battens, the upper one of which has been removed, were nailed to the back to keep the boards in place.

The saint is depicted with the basic characteristics of the aged Evangelist: the robust body with a big head set on a short neck. He is represented to the waist, in three-quarter pose with a slight bow of the head to the right. In his hands, in front of his chest, he holds a half-open, almost upright Gospel book. His left hand covers the gem-studded binding and the forearm supports under his armpit a quadrilateral pen-case with attached cylindrical inkwell. In his right hand he holds a reed pen and holds in place the top of the page on which is inscribed in majuscule letters the beginning of the text of his Gospel: '(EN AP)XH HN O ΛΟΓΟΣ' ('In the beginning was the Word') and in continuation, vertically, the end of each line: ΘΝ/ ΟC/ ΟΝ/ ΤΟ/ ΕΝ/ ΝΑΥ/ ΚΑΙ. The hands are modelled with particular care and the fingers are long and expressive. He wears a deep blue chiton and an ochre-yellow himation, while the gold halo is defined by a fine red line. At either side of his head his name is written in red majuscules: Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟC) ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗC) Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓ(ΟC) (St John the Theologian). The foreground is deep blue.

Crystallised in the icon is the new iconographic type of the saint, which is based on Palaiologan models and is elaborated by all the

individual details distinctive of the Evangelist: his rightward turn, the half-open almost upright codex, the reed pen and the pen-case with the inkwell, which he clutches to his chest with his left hand. This type, of which the icon in Naxos is the earliest example, seems to be linked with the creativity of the Cretan painter Angelos. As is ascertained from a series of later examples, it was widely diffused and appears to have prevailed intact or with minor variations in later works from the second half of the 15th to the 17th century. Special mention should be made to icons that reproduce the same iconographic type in Naxos, in the churches of the Virgin Eleousa and the Holy Cross in Chora, and St Thalelaïos at Melanes.

The stylistic traits of the icon show it to be the work of a great and accomplished painter. The flesh is modelled with fine brushstrokes, softly describing the volumes. On the wheaten underlayer the prominent parts – forehead, nose, cheeks – are illumined by numerous freely drawn highlights of fine brushstrokes, limited in area, which follow the shape of the volumes and enhance the plasticity of the figure. The Evangelist's luxuriant wavy beard and hair are painted with fine undulating lines. His nose is outlined in red, as are his eyes, excepting the canthus. The drapery of the himation is rendered by dark and light lines, straight or lightly curving and frequently forking, and with small bright planes in an intermediate shade between the highlighted edges of the folds and the dark ground of the textile.

Characteristic of the execution are the fine crafting of the figure, the attention to detail, the lyrical disposition of the artist and the free painterly modelling with translucent pigments that imbue the solid figure of the Evangelist with an ethereal air. The icon displays affinity with that of the Prophet Elijah (cat.41) in the homonymous church of the Chora of Naxos, which bears the signature of Angelos, and the icon of St John the Theologian with Prochoros, from the monastery of St Catherine on Sinai, which also bears the signature of Angelos (Drandakis 1990, p.127, fig.80). Common characteristics in the rendering of the biblical figures are the deft, confident and robust modelling; the bushy wavy beard and hair; the deep wrinkles on the brow; the meditative gaze – as well as the facial features, including the slightly curved tip of the nose, the small

mouth and the translucent irises with tiny round pupils.

The icon is placed on the iconostasis of the church of the Transfiguration of Christ, popularly known as the church 'of the Virgin of Christ' (*Panagia tou Christou*) in the Burgo of the Chora of Naxos. This is the only single-naved church with a dome in the Burgo and indeed at a central location. Adorning the high wood-carved iconostasis of good art are three despotic icons of large dimensions: the Virgin Eleousa, with silver revetment; Christ Pantokrator enthroned; and St John the Theologian. The latter occupies here the position usually reserved for St John the Baptist. This substitution was common on Naxos, where St John the Theologian is particularly revered. His cult is associated with an old tradition recorded by the Jesuit monk Sauger (Sauger 1878, p.5), going back to the 17th century, that St John himself, or one of his disciples at his command, preached Christianity on Naxos.

Angelos' oeuvre has a conspicuous presence in the Chora of Naxos. Apart from his signed icon of the Prophet Elijah and the icon shown here, four other icons of large dimensions with the Virgin and Child are either attributed to him or reflect characteristics of his art. One is in the same church as this St John the Theologian (Mastoropoulos 2005, p.375); the second is the Virgin of Tenderness 'Engardiotisa' in the church of Prophet Elijah (cat.43); the third is the Virgin 'Lady of the Angels' in the church of St Nicholas *tou Gyalou* (of the Shore) or *tis Agoras* (of the Marketplace) (Mastoropoulos 2004–5, p.373); and the fourth is a Virgin of Tenderness 'Kardiotissa' in the church of St John the Baptist (Kephalliniadis 1980, p.8; Baltoyanni 1994, pp.119–20, pls 49–51; Mastoropoulos 2004–5, p.371). These works bear witness to a special relationship between the painter Angelos and Naxos.

SOULA KITSOU





Angelos (attributed)

Virgin of Tenderness 'The Engardyotisa'

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
108 × 69.2 × 3 cm
Candia, Crete
Naxos, Chora, church of Prophet Elijah

Conservation: S. Baltoyannis, M. Grammarika,
M. Michailidou, 1992

Literature: Baltoyanni 1982–3, pp 85–6;
Baltoyanni 1994, pp 22–3, pls 5–6.

THIS ICON OF the Virgin of Tenderness comes from the iconostasis of the church of Prophet Elijah in the Burgo of the Castro of the Chora of Naxos, which abuts the Neochori Gate (Mastoropoulos 2004–5, p.378). The church, originally aisleless and with vaulted roof, became two-aisled when it was connected internally with an adjacent building with several vaults and arches, on the lintel of which is a plaque bearing the coat of arms of the Crispi and a cross with four 'B's. According to A. Mazarakis, this is most probably the coat of arms of Giacomo I Crispo (1397–1418), Duke of the Archipelago (Mazarakis 1998, pp 371–2, pl.113γ). On the tall, finely worked wood-carved iconostasis of the north aisle, in the position of the icon of the eponymous saint of the church, is the impressive icon of Prophet Elijah, signed by Angelos (cat.41). The icon seen here has been attributed to Angelos on the basis of stylistic and constructional similarities to that of Prophet Elijah (Baltoyanni 1982–3, p.85, n.20; Baltoyanni 1994, pp 22–3).

The icon panel, with its slightly raised integral frame, consists of three boards: two wide ones (dimensions 33.4 and 30.9 cm), at the joining of which there is a large vertical crack in the paint surface, and a narrow board (just 5 cm), all held together by two battens (8.2–8.4 cm wide and 1.3–1.7 cm thick). Preserved on the back, at the centre of the lower part, is an inset wooden handle (9 × 5 × 1 cm) for supporting the icon when it was processed, as in the case of the corresponding icon of St Elijah.

The back of the icon is also primed, like that of the Prophet Elijah, and has traces of a leafy cross with large rinceaux and the ligatures *I(ησου)C [Χριστός] Ν(ικα)* (Jesus Christ Conquer) and *T(ουτο) [το Ξύλον Δαίμονες Φρίττουσιν]* (This Wood Devils Fear).

On the front of the icon is the Virgin, seen to just below the waist and turned to the right, enveloped in a purple maphorion with gold bands, fringing and three stellar ornaments. Her head is bowed and her face touches that of the Christ Child, whom she holds with both hands. Christ is clad in a greyish-blue, sleeved chiton with gold florets and an orange himation with gold striations, covering only his right shoulder and falling low on the waist. He holds a scroll in both hands; his left leg is bared. In the upper corners of the icon, two angels – *Ο Α(ρχων) ΜΙΧΑΗΛ* and *ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ* (Michael and Gabriel) – in bust and with hands covered, venerate the Mother of God. The cross-inscribed halo of Christ is outlined on the well-burnished gold ground, upon which are written in red letters the abbreviations right *I(ησου)C Χ(ριστός)C* (Jesus Christ), above *ΜΗ(τη)Ρ Θ(εο)Υ* (Mother of God), and the inscription left *Η ΕΓΓΑΡΔΥΟΤΙ/CA* (Engardyotisa).

This particular iconographic type of the Virgin of Tenderness (Glykophilousa), with the characteristic detail of Christ's prominent bare left leg, was established by Cretan workshops, after a Palaiologan model, and was reproduced in a series of icons in the 15th century, among them the icon by Andreas Ritzos in Rome (Cattapan 1973, p.270, pl.Δ.1). No other icon by Angelos with the Virgin of Tenderness in this iconographic type is known. On the contrary, Angelos is accredited with crystallising another version of the Glykophilousa, which is usually inscribed '*Η ΚΑΡΔΙΟΤΗCΑ*' ('Kardiotissa') and is repeated in Cretan icons of the 15th and 16th centuries, the most important of which is the Kardiotissa in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, which bears his signature (cat.31). The inscription on the present icon, also misspelt, is perhaps an earlier type of the appellation Kardiotissa with the suffix 'εν', which accompanies a representation of the Virgin in the iconographic type of the Blacheritissa in 15th-century wall paintings (1451/2) in the church of St George on Sikinos (Mastoropoulos 1983a, p.129, fig.6; Mitsani 1995,

p.720). The icon shown here appears to be earlier than the iconographically crystallised and stylistically standardised Kardiotissa by Angelos in the Byzantine Museum, although both icons share certain characteristics: the serious and restrained grief in the expression of the mother, and the childish features of the face of Christ, with the snub nose, chubby pink cheeks and petulant expression.

Without doubt the memories and the diffuse atmosphere of Palaiologan art are more intensely preserved in this icon than in that of the Prophet Elijah, with its robust drawing and solidly structured figures, the at once sombre and vital expression. Common to both icons are the free, bold rendering of the figures, the warm colours on the limpid flesh and the softly modulated shadows, and the stark highlights emphasising the volumes with sheaves of lines in complex arrangements and diverse patterns. The very narrow slanting almond-shaped eyes, drawn with fine, insipid outlines, are the same. The rendering of the right eye, the outline of which does not close at the inner corner, the elliptical transparent irises and the round black pupils are sufficiently peculiar to justify the attribution of this icon to the same painter who created the icon of Prophet Elijah.

In the Cyclades, icons by the hand of Kyr Angelos, who signed only with his first name and is now identified as Angelos Akotantos (Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981), have been located not only on Naxos but also on Pholegandros, while icons on Siphnos are ascribed to him (N. Chatzidakis 2003). In contrast to Pholegandros, to which the icons were brought by Cretan refugees, Naxos, seat of the last Latin rulers of the 'Duchy of the Archipelago', the Crispo family, was able to commission icons from the best painters in nearby Crete or even to invite these painters to come to the island. We know from documents of 1482 and 1483 that Antonios Papadopoulos from Chania, pupil of Angelos' brother Ioannis Akotantos, travelled to Naxos to work there, where he subsequently acquired a clientele (Cattapan 1972, p.206, no.75; Cattapan 1977, pp 234–8), while we are informed from Angelos' will that he was preparing to make a journey to Constantinople (Manoussakas 1960–61a, pp 139, 143, 146).

ANGELIKI MITSANI



Angelos (attributed)

St Anne with the Virgin

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
106 x 76 cm
Candia, Crete
Athens, Benaki Museum, inv.no.2998

Conservation: S. Stassinopoulos, 1982–3

Literature: Xyngopoulos 1936, no.27, pp.40–41, fig.20; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964–5, pp.134–5, fig.79; Weitzmann *et al.* 1983, p.134, fig. on p.131; Babić and Chatzidakis 1982, p.315, fig. on p.366; Athens 1983, no.11, p.26 (N. Chatzidakis); London 1987, no.34, p.169 (N. Chatzidakis); Vocotopoulos 1987–8, p.247; Athens 1994, no.47, p.226 (A. Drandaki); Vocotopoulos 2001, p.93

THE MAJESTIC figure of St Anne, in a bright red maphorion, is seen to the waist. With her left hand she embraces the infant Virgin; the fingertips of her right rest on the child's knees. The iconographic type corresponds to that of the Hodegetria, in which the Virgin holds the Christ Child in analogous manner, resting her right hand on her son's knees, as a sign of respect and in a gesture matching that with which the hierarchs touch the Gospel book (Vassilaki-Karakatsani 1966–9). The infant Virgin, wearing a purple maphorion over a blue dress, holds her left hand in a position of prayer (*deesis*) and raises her right to offer her mother a white flower, symbolic depiction of Christ. The composition is a faithful illustration of the verse from the service of the Akathistos Hymn, in which the Virgin is praised as 'an Unwithering Flower' and as 'an Unwithering Rose' (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964–5, pp.134ff). Iconographic variations include St Anne enthroned holding the infant Virgin (in the same pose as the enthroned Virgin holding the Christ Child at the centre of her body), as seen in the 15th-century icon in Zakynthos (London 1987, no.36, p.171 (N. Chatzidakis)), in the 17th-century Cretan icons at Korcula in Dalmatia (Karaman 1932, p.374, fig.136) and in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg (Lichačev Collection, inv.no.1668, Lichačev 1906, p.86, pl.LI).

The subject of this icon is known in Byzantine iconography from the Early and Middle Byzantine periods (Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome; Direkli Kilise, Cappadocia; St Stephen and Saints Anargyroi, Kastoria), in variations in the position and pose of the two figures, in which the Virgin does not hold a flower (*LCI*, vol.V, 1973, cols.168–84; Gerstel 1998, pp.96–8, figs.11, 12, 14, 20; Siomkos, 2005, pp.271–8, figs.122, 123, 134, 135). It was disseminated more widely in the Palaiologan period, in important monuments such as the Chora monastery (Underwood 1966, vol.2, p.314, pl.179), Studenica, Mateić and St Nicholas Orphanos (Tsitouridou 1978, pp.199–200, pl.100), where St Anne is seen full length in the type of the Glykophilousa. In the mosaic icon in the Vatopedi monastery she is represented full length in the type of the Hodegetria (Tsigaridas and Loverdou-Tsigarida 2007, pp.35–7, figs.11, 12, 254). The subject spread also to the provinces (Pyrgi on Euboea, 1296, Koumoussi 1987 pp.131–2, fig.39), and to many churches in Crete, such as Bitzariano (Gallas, Wessel, Borboudakis 1983, pp.406–7) and the Virgin Kera at Kritsa (Borboudakis n.d., fig.23). In the church of St Anne at Anisaraki (1457–62) she is represented twice: with the Virgin in her left arm, and as Galaktotrophousa (Kalokyris 1973, p.124, fig.BW 83).

The earliest known example of St Anne represented to the waist with the Virgin offering a lily flower is in the 14th-century church of the Virgin at Lambini, Crete (Kalokyris 1973, p.124, fig.BW 84). Every detail is repeated in the *Sticherarion* of Ioannis Plousiadenos, 1469, kept at Sinai (Vocotopoulos 2001, fig.5). The same iconographic type is reproduced in 17th-century icons in Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, no.67, p.19, pl.126), in the Economopoulos Collection in Athens (Baltoyanni 1986, no.32, pp.38–9, pl.34), one icon in the Lichačev Collection (Lichačev 1906, p.116, fig.252) and a small icon in a private collection in Belgium (Antwerpen 1997, no.21, p.40 – erroneously dated to the 14th century). The subject was also recorded in an icon in Zakynthos, destroyed in the 1953 earthquake, and in unpublished icons in Venice (Chatzidakis 1962, no.226, p.190; Chatzidakis 1985, p.115) and Naxos (Baltoyanni 1986, p.39). The same iconographic type is faithfully copied in the 17th century by the Cretan painter Victor in a full-length depiction

of St Anne in an icon in the Philosophou monastery (Vocotopoulos 1987–8, p.247, pls.11.1, 11.2; see also chapter 8). A good Cretan icon of the first half of the 16th century was located by the author in the storerooms of the Solsona Museum near Barcelona, in which St Anne is represented full length and holding the infant Virgin in her right arm (N. Chatzidakis 1999). In a later icon, of the 18th century, it is St Anne, shown full length, who offers the flower to the Virgin, but their attire differs, as both wear a white veil on the head (*Treasury of the Holy Monastery of Vlatadon* 1994, pp.26–7 and figures).

The stylistic traits of the icon have led to its 15th-century dating and its attribution to Angelos. The inscription with the signature of Emmanuel Tzanes is a later addition (Athens 1983, p.26 (N. Chatzidakis); London 1987, no.34, p.169, fig. on p.34 (N. Chatzidakis); Athens 1994, no.47, p.226 (A. Drandaki)). The treatment of Anne's bright red maphorion, painted with broad linear folds in a deeper tone, without white pigment at the edges, is comparable to that in an earlier Cretan icon, of the beginning of the 15th century, portraying St Marina wearing a corresponding bright red mantle (London 1987, no.31, p.167, fig. on p.99 (N. Chatzidakis)), and is the same as that of the red textile covering the roofs in the icon of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, signed by Angelos, in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (cat.32). The posture of St Anne and the position of her figure on the panel echo the figure of the Virgin Kardiotissa, in the signed icon by Angelos in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (cat.31). However, the modelling of the flesh, particularly of the faces, in the icon shown here appears more solid and the white highlights are more intense; the hands and long slender fingers are rendered in the same manner in both icons. Similarities also include the lettering of the inscriptions with red colour – especially the letter A and the abbreviations *MHP ΘΥ* (Mother of God), which are identical and the relief frame, with a narrow red band on the upper and lower part. All the above remarks come to confirm the icon's importance for Cretan painting of the 15th century and its attribution to the great Cretan painter Angelos.

NANO CHATZIDAKIS

Constantinopolitan painter (?) or Angelos (?)

Christ Pantokrator

Second quarter of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood.

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

112.5 x 80 cm

Constantinople (?) or Crete (?)

Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts,
inv.no.2863.

Provenance: Transferred from Constantinople to Russia
by M. Savostin; 1914, Il'ia Semenovich Ostroukhov
Collection; 1929, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow; 1933,
Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

Conservation: G. Yerchova and V. Zinovieva, Laboratories
of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, 1970 and 1975.

Literature: Lasareff 1937; Lazarev 1967, pp 376, 418,
fig.530; Tyazhelov and Sopotsinski 1975, no.65, p.115;
Moscow 1977, vol.3, no.948, p.63, fig.74; Iráklion 1993,
no.85, pp 435–7 (O. Etinhof); *To kálllos της μορφής* 1995,
no.1, p.189 (O. Etinhof); Constantoudaki-Kitromilides
1994, pp 256–7, pl.Z'a.

THIS ICON IS made of three vertical boards of cypress wood, of differing width, to the back of which are nailed two horizontal battens near the top and bottom. Damage on all sides of the raised frame, and mainly at the joints between the boards, reveals scoring in the wood for applying the linen and gesso priming for the gold background and the paint surface. Set in a new, possibly modern, frame, the icon's considerable dimensions indicate that it was originally placed between the intercolumniations at the despotic register of an iconostasis.

Christ is depicted in frontal pose, at half-length. He blesses with his right hand; in his left he holds a Gospel book, decorated with precious stones. He wears a purple chiton with a wide gold stripe (clavus), and a dark blue himation, which has oxidised and acquired a greenish tone. His oval face is surrounded by well-brushed hair; the axis of the middle parting over his forehead continues downwards by his nose and is divided by a thin moustache on his narrow rose-coloured upper lip. His slightly projecting chin is covered by a smooth beard, the lower edge of which turns faintly to the left.

His big eyes gaze fixedly at the viewer; the wide black irises are set amidst the dark shadows of the eyebrows and of the bags under the lower eyelash. The halo is formed by a double incision; thin red lines define the arms of a cross inside it. In the upper corners of the icon two cinnabar-red medallions bear the initials of the sacred name: *I(ησοῦ)C X(ριστό)C*.

Christ Pantokrator is one of the most represented types in Byzantine art – evoking both the incarnate Logos, who has brought the Gospel to this world, and the Redeemer of humankind, who will judge according to this same Gospel when in his Second Coming (cf. Timken Matthews 1976 and Timken Matthews 1981). The iconography of the blessing Lord adopted in this icon, with palm stretched outwards, the thumb touching the tip of the ring finger and the little finger in vertical position, originates from Middle Byzantine depictions of Christ in the subject of the Great Deesis in minor arts, full-length and enthroned, as for instance on St Stephen's crown at the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest (Wessel 1967, no.37, pp 113–17, fig.37a), and on the cover of an ivory casket at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Goldschmidt and Weitzmann 1930, vol.I, no.100, pl.LXa). He is shown half-length, blessing and holding the Gospel in an identical manner on a late 11th- or early 12th-century enkolpion at the same museum (cf. New York 1997, no. 112, p. 165 (H.C. Evans)). This tradition is seen again in icon-painting of the Palaiologan era, such as on the front of the well-known double-sided icon of the Pantokrator monastery, Mount Athos, dated to the 1370s (cf. Paris 2009, no.77, p.174 (N. Siomkos)), as well as on the icon kept at the parish church of Anatoli, Siteia, Crete, which originally adorned the iconostasis of the Karkasa monastery, of around 1400 (Iráklion 1993, no.148, pp 503–4 (M. Borboudakis)).

Christ's face, neck and hands are modelled in a light ochre under-layer for the rendering of the shadows; the flesh is lightened by a rose-tinted surface over which alternating thick and thin white highlights take the shape of a net. This meticulous treatment is undoubtedly of Constantinopolitan origin and quality. The most lavish example of this is the renowned icon of Christ now at the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, dated to 1363, when Alexios Great Stratopedarches and his brother

John Great Primicerios, both depicted on the frame, founded the Pantokrator monastery on Mount Athos (Vocotopoulos 1995, no.96, p.214; London 2000, no.B 125, pp 148–50 (Y. Piatnitsky)). Exactly the same stylistic device of white brushstrokes creating an impression of intense plasticity on the faces and exposed flesh also occurs on several high-quality icons of Constantinopolitan origin from the second half of the 14th century: the icon of the Archangel Michael and that of the Virgin Hodegetria framed by Dodekaorton scenes, both at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (Vocotopoulos 1995, nos 95, 113, pp 213, 217; for the second icon, see also Athens 2000, no.64, pp 410–13 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou)); the two-sided icon with the Virgin Hodegetria and St Nicholas at Rhodes (Athens 2000, no.66, pp 418–21 (A. Katsioti)); the two-sided icon with Christ Pantokrator and St John the Theologian at Mytilene (London 2008, nos 240–41, pp 440–41 (M. Vassilaki)); the icon with St George at Aigion (Vocotopoulos 1995, no.145, p.222); and the Deesis icon at the Collection of St Catherine's, Iráklion (Iráklion 1993, no.92, pp 445–6 (M. Borboudakis); New York 2009, no.3, p.44 (M. Vassilaki)). Compared to the above icons, the net of white highlights on Christ's face, neck and hands on the icon here seems calligraphic and less free; this diligent modelling bespeaks of an artist apprenticed in or related to a workshop of the capital. It has been suggested that the icon has close affinities with the art of Angelos (Iráklion 1993, no.85, pp 436–7; *To kálllos της μορφής* 1995, no.1, p.189 (O. Etinhof)), especially with the icon of the Deesis from the Agia Moni Viannou, Crete (cat.46). These affinities have led to the attribution of the present icon to Angelos himself (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1994, pp 256–7 and n.19, pl.Z'a). Although he had links to Constantinople – a journey to the capital prompted the writing of his will (Manoussakas 1960–61a; Vassilaki-Mavrakaki 1981) – there is no evidence of his artistic activity there. This icon originates irrefutably from Constantinople – and might be assigned to an outstanding painter whose high artistic education and expertise were close to that of Angelos.

YANNIS D. VARALIS



Angelos

The Deesis

First half of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
104.5 x 79 cm
Candia, Crete
Crete, Agia Moni Viannou

Conservation: A. Theodorakopoulos, 13th Ephorate
of Byzantine Antiquities.

Literature: Athens 1983, no.4, p.19, fig. on p.26 (N. Chatzidakis); Iráklion 1993, no. 157, pp.512–13 (M. Borboudakis); Baltoyanni 2003, no. 10, pp.65–7, pls. 10, 19, 20; N. Chatzidakis 2006, fig.10; Lymberopoulou 2007, p.185, pl.56.

THE ICONOGRAPHY of the Deesis refers to the theological–symbolic concept of the intercession of the Virgin and St John the Baptist on behalf of mankind, at the Last Judgment. The specific iconographic type of the Deesis (trimorph or three-figure) is an abbreviation of the Great Deesis, with the rows of the Apostles flanking the central three-figure representation. This icon, with the two supplicating figures of the Virgin and St John placed behind the throne of Christ, is different from the one used by Angelos for his Deesis icon at the Canellopoulos Museum (cat.36), in which the Virgin and St John the Baptist are placed at the sides (N. Chatzidakis 2006, pp.283–95). This arrangement places particular emphasis on the principal figure, Christ, and in this way stresses the liturgical character of the icon.

Christ, full length and wearing a red chiton and a green himation with gold striations, is seated on a wood-carved throne with a red cushion, which fills the width of the panel in oblique perspective. With the left hand he supports a closed Gospel book with luxurious gem-studded cover, while he blesses with his right hand. The Virgin, in red maphorion, and St John the Baptist, in olive-green himation, project to the waist behind the high back of the wooden throne, turning towards Christ and outstretching both hands in supplication (deesis). The throne, wheaten-coloured, with dense gold striations and set with precious

stones, is decorated with monochrome youthful masks in profile, pommels and lion-head capitals. The footstool, on which Christ steps, is of the same colour as the throne and also in oblique perspective. This particular type of throne is reproduced too in an icon by Nikolaos Ritzos (1482–before 1507) in the old Orthodox church in Sarajevo (Chatzidakis 1985, p.321; Vocotopoulos 2005a, pp.207–25). The borrowing of iconographic features from works by Angelos in the art of later painters, such as Andreas Ritzos (second half of the 15th century), can be interpreted by the archival information that in 1477 Angelos' brother, Ioannis Akotantos, sold 54 working drawings to Andreas Ritzos (Cattapan 1968, pp.42–3; Cattapan 1973, p.262). The overfold of Christ's himation below the closed Gospel book is a characteristic feature in the icons of Angelos which is faithfully copied in representations of the enthroned Christ Pantokrator in Cretan icons (Chatzidakis 1985, pl.13).

In this icon, the balanced arrangement of the composition, the idealised rendering of the figures and the harmonious palette are distinctive of the high artistic standard of Angelos' painting and indicative of the Constantinopolitan tradition in his art, to which he remains faithful. The efforts of this pioneering painter to crystallise types that were to prevail and to define the future development of Cretan painting are demonstrated by certain differentiations in the rendering of the portrait type of Christ in icons by Angelos which still survive on the island of Crete, and the consequent discrepancies in the quality of the painting – even the minor variations in the technique of modelling the flesh. Telling in this respect are the differences observed mainly in the figure of Christ, in the icon of the Agia Moni Viannou, as well as in the icon of the same subject in the Canellopoulos Museum (cat.36). In the present icon the drawing of Christ's face aims to portray an idealised male figure, with limited planes of the dark under-layer and broad planes of the bright flesh tones; while the technique of modelling the flesh, with a mesh of dense white linear highlights rendering the smooth surfaces and enhancing the volumes, is known from other icons signed by Angelos (Chatzidakis 1985, pp.117–19). This portrait type of Christ was to hold sway in Cretan painting. It is also recognised in the icon of Christ Pantokrator

in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, which has been considered a work of Constantinopolitan art and has been dated to between the second half of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century (Iráklion 1993, no.85, pp.435–7 (O. Etinhof)). In addition to iconography, the style of the icon which follows the Palaiologan tradition of Constantinopolitan art; the technique, almost calligraphic in the modelling of the faces, as in other icons by Angelos; and even the manner of rendering the highlights, all justify the attribution of this work too to the Cretan painter and its dating in the first half of the 15th century. In the Deesis icon in the Canellopoulos Museum (cat.36) the portrait type of Christ is different: the face is rather more rounded–oval, the extent of the illumined flesh more limited and the lines of the white highlights much smaller but highly emphatic. These differences occur due to Angelos' experimentations in order to crystallise types, which would determine later developments. In the icon seen here, too, the balanced composition becomes wider with the supplicating figures of the Virgin and St John the Baptist protruding much more from the sides of the throne. Below, on the green foreground, next to the footstool on which Christ steps, is the majuscule signature of the painter, ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ (Hand of Angelos), in the standard type known from other icons signed by him, always in capital letters.

MANOLIS BORBOUDAKIS



Angelos

Christ Enthroned

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
105.5 × 59.5 × 2.8 cm
Candia, Crete
Zakynthos Museum, inv.no.86

Conservation: Laboratories of the Zakynthos Museum.

Literature: Drandakis 1962, pl.38B; Babić and Chatzidakis 1982, p.314, fig. on p. 60; Athens 1986, no.100 (M. Chatzidakis); Florence 1986, no.53 (M. Chatzidakis); London 1987, no.33 (M. Chatzidakis); Baltimore 1988, no.43 (M. Chatzidakis); Chatzidakis 1987, p.153, no.43, fig.17; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, no.4, pp.56ff, fig. on p.57; Mylona 1998, no.87, p.226, fig. on p.227; Athens 2001, no.61, p.208, fig. on p.209 (Z. Mylona); Lymberopoulou 2007, pp.182, 184, pl.5.5.

THIS DESPOTIC ICON of Christ enthroned formerly graced the church of St Spyridon Flambouriaris in the town of Zakynthos. It survived the catastrophic earthquakes of 1953 and is preserved in fair condition. The ground is gold and the foreground deep green. The narrow, slightly raised frame is also gold, with a red band at the bottom edge. In the foreground to the right, just touching the frame, is the painter's signature in black letters: *XEIP ATTE-ΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos).

Christ Pantokrator sits on the throne of his kingdom, in formal frontal pose. With his right hand on his chest he blesses (the palm outwards and the last two fingers joined with the thumb) and he summons with the open Gospel book. In the codex he holds with his left hand at his side, is the extract from the Gospel of Matthew (11:28–9), correctly spelt and in accented capital letters, which frequently accompanies representations of the Lord from the 15th century: *ΔΕΥΤΕ ΠΡΟΣ / ΜΕ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ / ΟΙ ΚΟΠΙΩΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕ / ΦΟΡΙΣΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΤΩ ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΩ / ΥΜΑΣ ΑΡΑ / ΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΖΥΓΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΕΦ' / ΥΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ / ΜΑΘΕΤΕ ΑΠ' Ε* (μοῦ ὅτι πρῶτος εἰμί καὶ ταπεινός τῇ καρδίᾳ ...) ('Come to me all you who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you

and learn from me, for I am gentle and lowly in heart').

Christ's face, neck and hands are painted in the warm brown tones favoured by Angelos, with discreet red and white on the diffusely illumined planes. The flesh is modelled in a manner appropriate to Palaiologan painting, as is the norm in his works, with successive brushstrokes of soft and vivid white highlights lightly submerged in the brown and radiating on the cheeks. The precisely drawn garments, lavish and amply draped, follow and enhance the rigid pose. The pose itself is artfully balanced in its frontal direction on the main vertical axis of the icon – by small steady turns and movements in the synthesis of the figure.

The typological elements, the pose, the arrangement and the folds of the garments, the gesture of blessing and the open Gospel book with the excerpt from Matthew, are the same as those of Christ in a small icon of the Deesis signed by Angelos, in the monastery of St Catherine at Sinai (Drandakis 1990, p.127, fig.77). The type of the enthroned Christ with these iconographic traits has since prevailed in despotic icons on the iconostasis, increasingly ousting the usual previous representation of the Pantokrator in bust and to the hips, as well as in icons of the Deesis (Vocotopoulos 2005a, pp.209ff, fig.1; N. Chatzidakis 2006, pp.289ff, figs.11–13). In most of the later works the kind of throne differs. As in the despotic icon by Andreas Ritzos in the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos (cat.52), the Italian marble throne of Venetian provenance on which Christ sits in the present icon is replaced in subsequent representations by the Byzantine wood-carved and gilded throne, of the type that Angelos established in his signed icons of the Deesis in Sinai, the Canellopoulos Museum in Athens (cat.36) and the superb icon in the Agia Moni Viannou (cat.46).

The marble throne adds the strong feeling of colour that is characteristic of Angelos' art. Green and finely carved, it has a curved back crowned by two palmette antefixes in faint lilac, the same colour as the seat slab, and an integral greyish-blue footstool. A similar phenomenon is noted in the Virgin and Child of an Italo-Cretan polyptych from Apulia, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, dated to the early 15th century (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1993–4, pp.290, 298ff, figs.1, 4), in

which the Byzantine Theotokos sits on the same kind of throne and steps on a narrow footstool. We may suppose that the icon of the Virgin by Angelos, which was pair to that of Christ on the original iconostasis of the Cretan church it adorned, sat on a marble throne, although its form cannot be determined.

The type of the icon seen here was used rather rarely from the 15th century (Baltoyanni 1986, no.12, p.25, pl.2; an unpublished icon at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, T.1072; Berenson 1930, fig.13; Chatzidakis 1985, no.96, p.138, pl.55 and no.147, p.169, pl.187; Gerhard 1957, p.91, fig.18; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, no.73, p.232, fig.Σ.233; Vocotopoulos 1990, p.15). The Late Gothic throne appears more rarely also in icons of the Virgin (Boura 1992, p.402, pl.KZ', 209; Vassilaki 1998, pp.48ff, fig.16). Christ's open Gospel book, with its correct perspective rendering, its volume and the natural chiaroscuro of its curving pages, is also an obvious western element. Throne and Gospel book function explicitly in the aesthetic of this icon, which emits with nobility the spirit of the art that developed in the progressive and prosperous environment of Candia at the time of Angelos.

This icon, a work of the painter's artistic maturity, was most probably one of the sacred treasures brought to Zakynthos in the 17th century by the Cretan refugee, Michael Agapitos. Priest and teacher, a painter himself, collector and owner of an important library (Konomos 1970, pp.7ff; Chatzidakis 1987, p.145), he ordered in his will of 1702 that a church be founded to house the icon of the Virgin Gorgoepikoos (Swift-Hearing) and the other icons that he owned from Crete. His order was fulfilled with the renovation in 1741 of the church of St Spyridon or the Gorgoepikoos, on the iconostasis of which the icon of Christ was placed. This is one of the four attested signed icons by Angelos which existed on Zakynthos until 1953, along with at least another eight icons attributed to him or ascribed to the circle of his art (Chatzidakis 1987, pp.147ff, nos.1, 8, 9, 15, 19, 32, 43; Baltimore 1988, no.46 (N. Chatzidakis); Vocotopoulos 1994, pp.347ff, pls.199, 200, 202.9, 204.11; Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, nos.5–9, and Foreword by Chatzidakis, p.17, list no.16, fig.5, p.28, fig.13).

MYRTALI ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU



Angelos

St Nicholas and Scenes from his Life

First half of the 15th century and second half of the 16th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

103.5 x 84.5 x 2 cm

Candia, Crete

Corfu, C. Zymaris private collection

Conservation: S. Stassinopoulos, Benaki Museum Conservation Department, 2007.

Literature: Vocotopoulos 1987, pp 412–14, pls 67–8; Vocotopoulos 1990, no.7, pp 15–17, figs 86, 92–5, 31A.

AFFIXED TO THE left and the right side of the original icon of St Nicholas are two additional boards, with a total of eight scenes from his life. The original icon, 44 cm wide, has an integral relief frame, 2.8 cm wide, which has been trimmed at the sides.

St Nicholas stands in frontal pose, blessing with the right hand (the thumb touching the fourth finger) and in the left holding a closed Gospel book. He is vested in a sticharion, a phelonion, an omophorion decorated with gold crosses, cuffs and an epigonation embroidered with Christ within a medallion, while spread over the rest of the surface are rinceaux motifs. The volumes of the flesh are modelled with a few bold and rather free brushstrokes. The highlights on the saint's forehead are alternately bold and faint. The folds of the sticharion and the phelonion are wide and stiff, and some have a forked end. The figure of the saint is projected against a gold ground, on which the nominative inscription *Ο ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ* is painted in cinnabar red to left and right of the head. The halo is indicated by a double incised circle. The signature *ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΥ* (Hand of Angelos) is written in black in the lower right corner of the deep-green foreground.

The popular saint, described by Dionysios of Fournas as 'bald and with rounded beard', conforms to the type usual in Byzantine art. The icon is the only work by Angelos which has remained in Corfu. It follows late Palaiologan

models both in the modelling of the flesh, with a few parallel highlights, and in the drapery. Borrowings from Italian painting, such as those identified for example in the figures of St George on horseback slaying the dragon in the Benaki Museum (cat.37), the winged St John the Baptist in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, and Christ Enthroned in the Zakynthos Museum (cat.47), are entirely absent.

Some of the eight scenes framing the central subject extend onto the frame of the original icon, as at bottom left. Starting from the left, from top to bottom, the following scenes are depicted: first, the ordination of the saint as bishop, in front of an altar table beneath a baldachin with a hanging lamp; then three girls sleeping in the same bed, their destitute father (who intends to prostitute them) having dozed off at the table, while the saint appears at the window holding a purse that will solve their economic problems; third, the saint smashing with an axe an idol in the temple of Artemis; fourth, the saint preventing the executioner from beheading an innocent condemned man, while another two convicts, blindfolded, await their fate.

The series continues on the right, again presented in order from top to bottom, where the episodes depicted are as follows: the fifth depicts the saint's appearance to the sleeping Emperor Constantine, to save the three generals who had been vilified. Sixth, the emperor presents gifts for St Nicholas to the three generals, after their acquittal. The seventh event is the saving of two ships from a tempest by the intervention of the saint, who appears in clouds. This tempest was caused by flammable material in a vase that was cast into the sea; Artemis, in disguise, had entrusted the vase to pilgrims to the saint's tomb, so that his church at Myra would be set on fire and the destruction of her temple would thus be avenged. The saint ordered the sailors to throw the vase into the sea, resulting in a terrible storm. The last scene is the rescue of a castaway, while in the background the sailors furl the sails of a ship battling with the waves.

The cycle is not complete. Missing are the birth of the saint, his attendance at school and his dormition. Of the scenes represented, the third and the seventh are rarely encountered. Some scenes are many figured, despite their

small size. Pronounced Italian influences are noted in the various scenes, for example in the buildings and the furniture, the weaponry and the helmets of the soldiers, and in depictions of animals, such as a cat in the second scene and a dog in the fifth. Shadows are cast on the floors. Various elements, such as the straight prows of the ships, the arms of the soldiers and the form of the beds, advocate a dating after the first decades of the 16th century (Vocotopoulos 1991, p.17). The modelling and the portrait types of the elderly figures in particular recall the art of Michael Damaskenos, the most important Cretan painter – together with Georgios Klontzas – in the second half of the 16th century (Irakleion 1993, nos 96, 97, 99, pp 449–53, 455–7 (M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides)) and it is quite possible that the eight scenes were painted by members of his workshop. All eight representations are reproduced faithfully, albeit in different sequence, in an icon of St Nicholas enthroned with scenes from his life, painted by Ioannis Moskos, which is in the Loverdos Collection, in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens (Xyngopoulos 1957, p.316, pl.68.2; Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, p.204, no.5, fig.126).

The addition of scenes to the earlier icon of a saint, in the manner observed here, is unusual. The incorporation of an icon at the centre of a later painting, the decoration of which is related to the inset image, serves different aims (Vocotopoulos 2002). Perhaps the icon of St Nicholas was widened in order to fit an iconostasis with larger panels.

PANAGIOTIS L. VOCOTOPOULOS



Angelos

Christ Man of Sorrows with the Virgin and John the Evangelist

Second quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
152 x 140 cm
Candia, Crete
Venice, Museo Correr, inv.no.1021

Literature: Marlacher 1957, no.1021, pp.150–51, (with earlier bibliography and a dating to the 17th century), Venice 1993, no.35, pp.148–50, (with earlier bibliography and a dating to the 16th century); Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2007b, pp.8–9 and fig.8; Drandaki 2009, p.12, fig.1.

THIS MONUMENTAL work depicts Christ as the 'Man of Sorrows' (*Imago pietatis*, *Vir dolorum*), flanked in a smaller scale by the Virgin and St John, while two lamenting angels fly on high. The lifeless Lord stands upright inside the sarcophagus, shown to the hips in front of the Cross on which is the tabula with the initials I.N.R.I. (*Iesus Nazareus Rex Iudeorum* = Jesus Christ King of the Jews). On the front step is the painter's signature in black gothic letters: *ANGELUS PINXIT*. The nominative inscriptions of the icon, discernible on the gold ground, are executed in the same calligraphic script.

In spite of the reservations that have been expressed, and the various dates proposed (Mariacher 1957, pp.150–51; N. Chatzidakis 1993, pp.148–50), in my opinion the painter who signs the present work as Angelos is the same person who signs a considerable number of icons of Cretan art as Angelos (cf. Cattapan 1973, p.246, n.12; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1988a, p.57; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1993–4, p.301, n.73). He is identified with the Angelos Akotantos of the Venetian archives. The bilingualism in the oeuvre of Cretan painters has been pointed out some time ago, and has been interpreted on the basis of the particular historical, social and artistic conditions that prevailed in Venetian-held Crete (Chatzidakis 1974a, pp.197–211). It is a fact that most works by Angelos are executed in flawless Byzantine style. Nevertheless, in some of these, select details from western art can be traced.

Examples include the marble throne in the icon of the Pantokrator in the Zakynthos Museum (cat.47) and the decoration of the panoply of soldier-saints (St Theodore in the Loverdos Collection (cat.33)). Moreover, similarities with works by Angelos are observed in the coloration – brownish red, rose pink, emerald green.

The austerity of the composition, the stiffness and pallor of the dead Christ, the restrained expression of unutterable grief on the countenances of the Virgin and St John, and the muted colour tones, are all appropriate to the profoundly mournful character of the scene. This is an eclectic creation that surpasses historical time and aims at instilling in the viewer a sense of participation in the Passion of the Lord. At the same time, however, the open sarcophagus, which alludes to the Resurrection, offers a ray of hope to the Christian believer. The composition also acquires an eschatological dimension, as the Virgin and St John outstretch one hand in supplication towards Christ, creating a kind of Deesis, interceding on behalf of the faithful.

Stylistically, this impressive work, despite some elements of Byzantine origin (the figure and gestures of the Virgin, and the gestures of St John), has overt traits of the international Gothic style, including the smooth and lustrous modelling of the flesh and the undulating hems of the garments. Realistic elements are detected in the spasms of John's face, in Christ's wounds and in the shadowed scrolling of the tabula, which is reminiscent of a vellum folio.

The representation of Christ alone in the type of this icon is known in Byzantine art from as early as the 12th century. Ecclesiastical texts and changes in the services of Holy Week, especially of Good Friday, contributed to the creation of this condensed iconography of the Passion (Belting 1980–81, pp.1–16; Belting 1990, pp.99–124). The subject embodies multiple symbolisms. Acquiring a eucharistic significance, the image was depicted in the bema of Byzantine churches from the late 13th century and more frequently in the conch of the prothesis during the 14th. The figure of the Virgin is sometimes included in the iconography (two-sided icon in Kastoria, diptych in Meteora). The scheme with Christ at the centre, flanked by the Virgin and St John the Evangelist, was influenced by the representa-

tion of the Crucifixion and was disseminated in western art (Belting 1990, pp.131–85).

In Cretan murals, the Man of Sorrows with the lamenting Virgin and John is represented, in Byzantine technique, in the hermitage of St Euthymios (late 14th century), outside the village of Zaros in the district of Kainourgio. With Christ alone, arms bent at the elbows, it is represented in the prothesis of the church of the Virgin at Kapetaniana at Monofatsi (1401).

This subject of Byzantine origin was diffused in central and northern Italian art from as early as the 13th century and more so during the 14th, including monastic circles such as Franciscans. In the painting of Venice, the subject, in the three-figure scheme, is known from the 13th century as in a painting in the Torcello Museum. A similar scheme was chosen for the *pala feriale* over the central altar of San Marco, Venice, by Paolo Veneziano (1345); other versions are encountered in Venetian art (Puglisi and Barcham 2006, pp.403–29).

Consequently, this iconographic formulation of the Man of Sorrows, after enjoying a notable course in western art, returns, now in Late Gothic style, with Christ's hands crossed onto the abdomen (this is a possible Tuscan influence) as a counter-loan in the painting of portable icons in Crete. In Cretan painting, this icon is the earliest known example. The subject, particularly with Christ alone (Baltoyanni 2003, pp.388–403) and to a much lesser extent with the three persons included (see a faithful representation of the same subject by Nikolaos Tzafouris, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna), was to become widespread in Cretan painting in the 'Italo-Cretan' style. However, concurrently it appears also in Cretan icons of the Byzantine manner (icon with Christ alone in the Recklinghausen Museum, which I believe is by Andreas Ritzos). On the contrary, a different three-figured composition of the same subject (a triptych by Nikolaos Tzafouris in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg, and other, unsigned works) copies the Renaissance version by Giovanni Bellini and his circle (Belting 1985, pp.8–74). With the simultaneous allusions of Passion and Resurrection, the work condenses the doctrine of the Divine Economy for the salvation of humankind through the redemptive death of Christ.

MARIA CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES



Andreas Ritzos

The Dormition of the Virgin

Second half of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
67 x 44 cm
Crete, Candia
Turin, Galleria Sabauda, inv.24, cat.156

Literature: Xyngopoulos 1957, p.162; Chatzidakis 1974a, p.177, pl.2; Babić and Chatzidakis 1982, pl. on p.317; Chatzidakis 1985, pl.200.

BEARING THE SIGNATURE of Andreas Ritzos, this is one of the most interesting Cretan icons of the 15th century. The Cretan painter, of whom several works have survived and to whom many are attributed (Chatzidakis 1987, pp 324–32 with earlier bibliography), lived and worked in Candia during the second half of the 15th century. He followed the painting of Angelos faithfully and, as is known from a document of 1477 (Cattapan 1968, pp 42–3; Cattapan 1973, p.262), he held for a short time Angelos' working drawings (*anthivola*) in his possession.

The Dormition of the Virgin is represented against a crowded gold ground and in front of two tall buildings, behind which project the leafy branches of trees. In the space between them is the scene of the Assumption of the Virgin's soul into heaven. In the celestial scene, at a higher level of the icon, the Virgin stands in frontal pose within an elliptical mandorla, before the open heavenly gates carried by angels. In her right hand she holds the girdle, which she hands over to the youthful, beardless Thomas shown very near her within clouds.

The scene of the Assumption crowns the central subject of the Dormition. This is defined by a large, impressive mandorla filled with angelic hosts. Under the elevated apex is a six-winged seraph whose wings project above it. The large mandorla of the Dormition surrounds a small radiant mandorla enclosing the tall, slender figure of Christ, who stands behind the Virgin's deathbed, on the vertical axis of the composition. He is rendered in pronounced contrapposto, his body turned to the left and his face frontal. In his hands, covered

by his himation, he holds the Virgin's soul in the form of a swaddled infant. The Virgin's corpse, with the hands crossed low on the pelvis, lies on a large deathbed placed obliquely, deviating this from its established position parallel to the line of the foreground. Furthermore, the pillow is depicted to the viewer's right – and the two central figures (Christ and the Virgin) cross but not absolutely at a right angle.

The Apostles all proceed from the right – except Paul on the left, who is prostrate with his face at the Virgin's lower body – and are crowded behind the bed-head. Peter is to the fore, leaning over deeply in front of the bed and censing the corpse. Beside him is John, an old man, who bows above the Virgin's face and touches her pillow with both hands. The rest of the Apostles stand further behind. In the background, men and women on the balconies of the buildings observe the scene.

The principal characteristic of this icon is the eclecticism and extravagance of its elements, which, as Manolis Chatzidakis has written with regard to the wall painting in the Pantanassa, Mystras, 'breaks up the unity of the composition and the space' (Chatzidakis 1981, p.92). The diverse poses, gestures and expressions, which vary inventively from perplexity, contemplation, disquiet and sorrow to profound grief, denote here also the attempted rationalistic underpinning of the event. Concurrently, through the disturbed and troubled atmosphere with the many figures and several episodes, in which the axes and canons of the composition are indistinct, the triumphal meaning of the scene also emerges explicitly, as the Virgin's soul 'comes to dwell in the archetypal, true and heavenly relics' (John of Damascus, *Second Discourse on the Dormition*, PG 96, cols 737–40).

The choirs of angels emerging from the ground-floor entrance and arriving at the Virgin's house, with Archangels Gabriel and Michael to the fore, contribute dynamically to the scene. Crowded beside them are female figures, attested as friends of the Virgin Mary. The whole rendering of the subject is supported by references in apocryphal texts (Mango and Ertug 2000, p.174) or descriptions in hymns and homilies which complete and complement the liturgy for 15 August in the *synaxis* of the Dormition of the Virgin. This last is further reinforced by the two hierarchs, James the

Adelphotheos, first Bishop of Jerusalem, and Dionysios the Areopagite, who are portrayed amidst the Apostles and are identified not only by their portrait features (Baltoyanni 1991, p.356) but also by references to them in the Homilies of Dionysios the Areopagite (PG 3, col.681) and John of Damascus (PG 96, col.749).

This icon is one of the most characteristic examples of the survival of Palaiologan tradition, style and technique in Cretan painting (Xyngopoulos 1957, p.163; Babić and Chatzidakis 1982, pl. on p.317; Baltoyanni 1991, pp 343–74). Even so, the composition does not seem to have been established in the post-Byzantine iconography of Cretan portable icons, since it deviates considerably from the established Cretan representations of the subject.

The subject's roots in Palaiologan iconography and tradition are overt. The iconography with the angels entering from the left – as for example in the wall painting of the Dormition in the Peribleptos at Mystras (Chatzidakis 1981, pl.20), in which the version of the subject is more conservative with only five angels – is Palaiologan; the group of Apostles huddled on the right side of the representation also pre-exists in the Peribleptos. Likewise Palaiologan is the figure of Peter, who seems somewhat alien at first glance, with his wavy hair falling separately on both sides of his face and low onto the nape of his neck, distancing it from the type of the Roman male, which is characteristic of Peter from early Christian times. Even so, this rare hairstyle for Peter is observed in the scene of the Dormition in the church of the Holy Apostles at Thessaloniki (Xyngopoulos 1953, pls 31 and 32.1), with which the present icon is related in other points too.

In the mosaic of the Dormition in the Chora monastery, Constantinople (Underwood 1966, vol.2, pls 320–7) there is the same detail as in the icon here, with John falling upon the Virgin's pillow and holding it with both hands (Underwood 1966, vol.2, pls 320, 322, 324). The bier in the Chora monastery Dormition is also repeated in the icon here, very large and with the same draped covering and gold braiding. Mention has been made of the seraphim in the representation, which overshadow the entire central subject and are drawn most emphatically on a disproportion-



ately large scale (Mango and Ertug 2000, p.174). It is now clear that some iconographic elements of the icon shown here are peculiar. The presence of these same elements in the Dormition in the Chora monastery has been noted already (Baltoyanni 1991, pp 353-74). Referring to this, it is obvious that the model of this peculiar and obviously significant variation of the Dormition, elements of which are already noted in the mosaic representation in the Chora monastery was created in the early 14th century, charged with meanings that refer to the realisation of the prophetic prefigurations with depictions of New Testament scenes.

All the above elements appear more expressively and with unequivocal symbolism in synoptic Palaiologan representations, as in the Dormition on the reverse of the Don icon (Lazarev 1967, p.400, fig.572), which is attributed to Theophanes the Greek. Terse and summary there, the representation seems to surpass the subject and furthermore includes its symbolisms in a particularly suggestive atmosphere. The painter of the icon discussed here avoids this danger by cleaving devotedly to a brilliant Palaiologan model yet without diminishing the symbolic ramifications of the Dormition of the Virgin (Baltoyanni 2003, no.14, pp 75-7).

CHRYSANTHI BALTOYANNI

Andreas Ritzos

The Ascension, the Preparation of the Throne, the Hospitality of Abraham and Saints

Second half of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
71 × 47.5 × 2.5 cm
Candia, Crete
Tokyo, National Museum of Western Art,
inv.no.P-408

Literature: Koshi 1973, pp 8ff, figs 1–3, 12, 15, 18, 22;
Chatzidakis 1985, pl.201; Czerwenka-Papadopoulos
1993, p.91, fig.7; Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997,
p.352, no.1, fig.221; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998a,
fig.3; Acheimastou-Potamianou 2000, p.404, fig.246;
Acheimastou-Potamianou 2003b, pp 86ff, fig.5.

THIS ICON, ONE of the few bearing the signature of Andreas Ritzos, has been in Tokyo since at least 1930, where it belonged to the Kojiro Matsukata Collection until 1974. On the back is a foliate cross, painted between two transverse boards that existed along the edges to reinforce the wooden panel (Koshi 1973, p.37, fig.2). The paint surface is in very good condition, with minor retouching on damaged points.

The main, long narrow field of the icon is surrounded by a wide, raised border. On the central surface are two compositions of different height, *H ANAΛHYIC* (The Ascension), as the main and larger subject, and the Preparation of the Throne (Hetoimasia) above it. These are crowned on the border by the Hospitality of Abraham, with the inscription *H AFIA TPIAC* (The Holy Trinity). On the sides stand six full-length saints, three on each side, and below are four saints depicted only to hip level. From top left, the saints depicted are *O AΠI(OC) IQ(ANNHC) O ΠPOΔPOMOC* (St John the Baptist), *O AΠI(OC) / NIKOΛAOC* (St Nicholas) and *O AΠI(OC) ONOYΦPIOC* (St Onouphrios); from top right are *O AΠI(OC) IAKΩBOC* (St James), *O AΠI(OC) / ANTΩNIOC* (St Anthony) and *O AΠI(OC) / CE / BACTIANOC* (St Sebastian); on the lower side, at the centre are *O AΠI(OC) / KΩN / CTAN / TINOC* (St Constantine) and *H AFIA*

EAE / NH (St Helen) with the cross, while to their left is *H AFIA / AIKATEPINA* (St Catherine) and to their right *H AFIA / IIAPACKETH* (St Paraskevi). The inscriptions are in red lettering on the gold ground. The compositions and the saints are separated in their sectors by the green foreground, which is only absent on the lower side as the figures there are truncated. On the unfurled scrolls held by St John the Baptist and St Anthony are the usual inscriptions, correctly spelt and flawlessly written in black letters: *'METANO/EITE HITI/KEN IAP H BA/CLAEIA TΩN / OYPAΩΩN'* ('Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand') (Matthew 3:2) on the Baptist's; and *'EIDON E/TΩ TAC ΠA/TIΔAC TOY / ΔIABOΛOY / HΠAΩME/NAC EN TH / TH K(AI) CTE* (*váξac éinov...*) ('I saw the Devil's traps spread on the earth and sighing I said') (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1909a, p.162) on Anthony's. At bottom right, on the foreground of the representation of St Sebastian, is the painter's signature: *XEIP / ANAPEOY / PITZOY* (Hand of Andreas Ritzos).

Like Angelos in the first half of the 15th century, Andreas Ritzos (c.1422–pre-1530) dominated in the second half of the century as the most important painter in Candia and, through the effect of his work on later painters, as the first major representative of the Cretan School after the Fall of Constantinople. Son of the mariner and goldsmith Nikolaos Ritzos, and father of a line of painters, Andreas practised his art in Iráklion for over forty years (mentions 1451–92). He kept a workshop in the Cretan capital, with three fellow painters and his sons, Nikolaos and Thomas (Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, pp 324ff, 332ff). Andreas Ritzos was a pupil of Angelos, at least in the sense of the affinity of models and works. His art, devoid of the passion in line and colour whose dynamic sets its seal on the close style of the Late Byzantine painter, is distinguished by the refined conception of the figure, the gentility of expression and the eurythmy of the composition.

It is precisely these traits that distinguish the icon shown here, one of the eleven or twelve extant icons signed by Andreas Ritzos. Highly detailed in the miniaturist vein, as if the painter had experience of his father's tasks as a goldsmith, it stands out also among the many works attributed or ascribed to his workshop,

as the most impressive for its composite iconography.

The Ascension predominates by virtue of its position and size in the tightly organised composition of the icon: *O I(HCOY)C X(PICTO)C* (Jesus Christ) rises effulgent to Heaven, in a circular mandorla held by two angels. Below, the Mount of Olives with its continuous jagged peaks closes the background. The Apostles, amidst the olive trees whose leaves rustle in the air, watch in dazed amazement the events enacted. They form an open arc, as in the representation of the Ascension in a dome. In the middle to the fore is the supplicating Virgin. Two angels, accompanying and behind the Theotokos, point to the ascending Lord, whilst addressing the Disciples.

The iconographic type of the representation, mainly in its general scheme, is known from Late Palaiologan icons (Athens 1986, no.95 (N. Chatzidakis); Athens 2000, no.64, pp 410–11 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou); Baltoyanni 2003, no.9, pl.17; New York 2004, no.90 (A. Weyl Carr)) and harks back with its particular elements to a model popular in wall paintings in Crete during the early 15th century (Maderakis 1991, p.282, pls 93β, 94α; Borboudakis 1983, fig.111). Images of the Ascension identical to that in this icon, with common artistic traits as well, in Athens, Argostoli (Cephalonia), Venice and London (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.36; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2004, p.353; Venice 1993, no.13 (N. Chatzidakis); London 1994, no.235 (M. Vassilaki)), are associated directly with Andreas Ritzos and his workshop. The type, as in an icon by Nikolaos Ritzos (Vocotopoulos 2005a, p.220, figs 1, 10) prevailed from this time onwards, especially for the Dodekaorton on the iconostasis.

The Preparation of the Throne (Hetoimasia), detached from the Second Coming of Christ, which is announced in the Ascension and to which the throne with the symbols of the Passion and the worshipping Protoplasts (Adam and Eve) allude, remains rare for an icon. With the host of venerating archangels and angels flanking the throne, it is related to the Palaiologan wall paintings in the Metropolis at Mystras (Koshi 1973, p.43, fig.23; Chatzidakis 1992, fig.25; Acheimastou-Potamianou 2003a, fig.15). Only the two archangels in sideways pose and with imperial



loros, in a type similar to the attendants of the enthroned Virgin in the sanctuary apse of the Pantanassa at Mystras (Aspra-Vardavaki and Emmanuel 2005, p.65, figs 23–6), appear in an icon in the Benaki Museum from the workshop of Andreas Ritzos (cat.53), on a *panagiarion* in Patmos most probably by Nikolaos Ritzos (Chatzidakis 1985, no.14, pl.22) and in a few subsequent works (Iraklion 1993, no.154 (M. Borboudakis); Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, no.24, pp 114ff, fig. on p.115).

In contrast to the Hetoimasia, the biblical Hospitality of Abraham, prefiguration of the Holy Trinity, was a common subject in 15th-century Cretan icon-painting, in which it appears from the end of the 14th century (Tsigaridas 1998b, pp 392ff, fig.439). On the oblong surface of the present icon the representation is developed on the horizontal axis, with the three angels comfortably arranged at the large table and Abraham and Sarah waiting on them, behind and between. There is an elongation and perspective spaciousness to the environmental elements and a more composite rendering of the typical buildings at the ends of the wall closing the background. The archaizing Renaissance-type building on the right is appropriate to the workshop of Andreas Ritzos (cf. Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, no.14, pp 236ff, fig.23; Krems 1993, no.49 (G.M. Lechner); Acheimastou-Potamianou 2003b, pp 90ff). The Hospitality of Abraham also adorns two *panagiaria* in Patmos and Florence, which are attributed with good reason to Nikolaos Ritzos (Chatzidakis 1985, no.13, p.65, pl.22; Venice 1993, no.15 (N. Chatzidakis)).

The models for St John the Baptist, St Nicholas, St Onouphrios, St Anthony, St Catherine, St Constantine and St Helen are to be found in earlier wall paintings and icons in Crete (Borboudakis 1991, pp 384ff, 389ff, pls 203a–β, 205a; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1993–4, p.298, figs 1, 6; Chatzidakis 1985, no.68, p.116, pls 49, 127). Except for Onouphrios, they occur – sometimes with minor differences – in other icons by Andreas Ritzos and his workshop (Bari 1988, no.43 (C. Gelao); Drandakis 1990, pp 127ff, fig.82; Athens 1983, no.18, p.30 (N. Chatzidakis)). St Sebastian, who appears earlier, though different, in the Italo-Cretan polyptych in Boston (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1993–4, p.288, fig.1.6), is depicted in a Western type, tied to

a tree and with his half-naked body pierced all over by arrows, which was adopted by later painters (Koshi 1973, n. on p.37, figs 27–9; Venice 1993, no.30 (N. Chatzidakis); Liva-Xanthaki 1980, pp 112ff, fig.44; Chatzidakis 1986, p.75, fig.159; Semoglou 1998, p.90, pl.53a–β).

The ten saints, in ranked position, are selected from all the orders except that of the soldier-saints. The Apostle James in bust, who is also represented in the icon of the Virgin by Andreas Ritzos in Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, no.10, p.61, pl.12), and St Catherine refer to the monasteries of Patmos (Acheimastou-Potamianou 2005, pp 105ff) and Sinai respectively, which maintained flourishing metochia in Crete. Moreover, the choice of James may also be linked with the name of the person who commissioned the icon.

An interesting feature is the representation of St Paraskevi, who was especially honoured on Crete and believed to cure afflictions of the eyes and to protect from plagues (Lasithiotakis 1970, p.136), and, in propinquity, of St Sebastian, also protector against plague in the West, in which the painter's signature is also placed. Both are absent from other icons with saints produced in Ritzos' workshop. The preference for them here might well be related to one of the six or seven bubonic plague epidemics known to have struck Crete and particularly Candia between 1468 and 1480 or 1489 (Kostis 1995, p.338). In this case it would be reasonable to date the icon between these years or shortly after 1480 or 1489.

This view, corroborated by the artistic maturity of the refined and sensitive work, agrees with the overt eschatological and soteriological ideas that are densely interwoven in the synthesis of its unique thematic repertoire (Acheimastou-Potamianou 2003b, pp 86ff). Promoted in the reading of the icon are the fundamental truths of the Faith, which are linked with the founding during the Ascension of the Church of Christ on earth and with its eschatological prospect. The apocalyptic Preparation of the Throne, with the symbols of the Passion and the ceremonial Synaxis of Angels, and the Holy Trinity with the Byzantine rendition of the eucharistic Hospitality of Abraham, define on two levels, ranked in terms of meaning and height, the topos of the celestial kingdom into which Christ rises at

the end of his First Coming, and, conversely, make known the Second Coming, announced during the Ascension. In the bosom of the Church, which the saints consolidate and glorify, the road of redemption is open, as it is to Adam and Eve, to all believers who accept its salvatory discourse – a discourse that acquires particular weight, with its compassionate meaning, for those men hibernating in critical situations, as was the case in the plague epidemics that afflicted Crete. Certainly the synthesis of representations and meanings in this significant icon created by Andreas Ritzos, now in Tokyo, reveals the profound theological knowledge of its owner or donor, possibly a well-educated ecclesiastical official or monk, as is hinted at too by the choice of the represented saints.

MYRTALI ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU

Andreas Ritzos

Christ Pantokrator

Second half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood.

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

165 x 91 cm

Candia, Crete

Patmos, Holy Monastery of St John the Theologian

Literature: Cattapan 1973, pl.E.2; Chatzidakis 1974a, pp 178–9, pl.Θ.1; Chatzidakis 1985, no.9, p.60–61, pls 13, 15; Athens 1983, no.16, pp 28–9 (N. Chatzidakis); Lymberopoulou 2007, p.203, pl.5.26.

ON A GILDED wooden panel with integral narrow gilded frame, Christ is depicted on a large wooden throne occupying the entire width of the composition. The throne's red cylindrical cushion is decorated with pseudo-Kufic motifs and is bunched at both narrow ends, leaving the edges hanging. Likewise, his feet rest on a cylindrical cushion on the footstool. He blesses and holds an open Gospel book inscribed with the extract from Matthew (11:28–9), correctly spelt and in majuscule letters: 'ΔΕΥΤΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΚΟΠΙΩΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΦΟΡΤΙΣΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΓΩ ΑΝΑΠΑΥCΩ ΥΜΑC ΑΡΑΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΖΥΓΟΝ ΜΟΥ ΕΦ' ΥΜΑC ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΕΤΕ ΑΠ' ΕΜΟΥ' ('Come to me all you who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn from me') (Chatzidakis 1985, no.9, p.60, pls 13, 15). On both sides of Christ's halo above his shoulders, the bust figures of the Virgin and St John the Theologian are depicted respectively, turned towards the centre. The Virgin, enveloped tightly in her maphorion, extends both hands in supplication, while St John holds an open Gospel book in front of his chest.

This representation of the Deesis differs from the established iconography, in which the Virgin and St John the Baptist pray to the standing or enthroned Christ. The Cretan painter has replaced the standing, praying Virgin with a miniature figure of her floating in the icon's gold ground, while the standing, praying St John the Baptist has been replaced by St John the Theologian, alluding thus to the

icon's commissioner, which was undoubtedly the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos. On the green foreground is the painter's signature, left and right of Christ's footstool, in the type: ΧΕΙΡ ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ / ΠΙΤΖΟΥ (Hand of Andreas Ritzos).

As mentioned, despite its deviations from the established iconography of the Deesis, the icon seems to retain its liturgical and eschatological character, enhanced by many elements of analogous significance. The dominant presence of Christ, the throne's large opulent cylindrical cushion, the large bunches and gold pseudo-Kufic ornaments on the bands at its ends, and the elaborately decorated cushion on the footstool, obviously allude to a more elaborate meaning than that declared by the established representation of the Pantokrator, as the severely effaced inscription above his right shoulder reads: Ο ΠΑΝΤΟ [κράτωρ].

Christ's large throne, with its splendid gilding, elaborate decoration and impressive features, such as the large back with the broken-arched top embellished with pommel finials, contribute to this end. Particularly interesting too are the intricate small pillars with large conical base and projecting lion heads on the dossier, which seem to copy the throne of Christ in the well-known and highly significant icon of the Deesis bearing the signature of Angelos (cat.46). As has been noted elsewhere (Baltoyanni 2003, no.10, p.66), the splendid Deesis in the Agia Moni Viannou, which combines eschatological meaning and liturgical function, refers to the priest's prayer to Christ during the chanting of the cherubic hymn (Trepelas 1982, p.71), which entitles him to officiate the Mass. Christ is described there as the 'Lord of all' and 'King of Israel'. This relationship, emphasised by the royal presence of Christ in the Deesis of Agia Moni Viannou, is evident in this icon too. This could be justified by other elements in the representation, such as the size of the throne, its gilding and, primarily, the lion heads on the dossier, which endow the throne with particular magnificence and refer to the throne of Solomon as described in the Old Testament (1 Kings 10:18–20). According to the prayer of the cherubic hymn, Christ there is the king of Israel. Recognisable features of Solomon's throne here are the size ('the king made a large throne'), the gilding ('and overlaid it with pure

gold') and the presence of lions ('and two lions stood beside the arm rests').

This particular dimension in the iconography of the Deesis of Agia Moni Viannou could also be traced even more emphatically in the wall painting of the Deesis in the Great Meteoron monastery (Chatzidakis and Sofianos 1990, pl. on p.89). There, Christ the King wears an imperial sakkos with precious loros, studded with gems and pearls, and sits upon an opulent throne, from the rectangular back of which project left and right two cherubim – since, according to the same prayer in the cherubic hymn, the King of Glory is also 'the one riding upon a cherubic throne'. In this perspective, his face is surrounded also by successive square mandorlae.

It should be noted here that in his endeavour to render the royal presence of Christ in the present icon, Andreas Ritzos employed additional regal elements, such as the open Gospel book which replaces the closed codex of Christ in the Agia Moni Viannou, and the luxurious cushions upon which the Lord sits on the throne or rests his feet upon the footstool. This is of particular interest since the iconographic type of Christ in the Agia Moni Viannou Deesis, like the Christ by Andreas Ritzos, is repeated, isolated or not from the scheme of the Deesis, and becomes a model type of the enthroned Christ throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

This type is particularly common in Patmos, where it is identified in later copies with the same figure of Christ, usually on different types of thrones (Chatzidakis 1985, no.65, p.114, no.86, p.132, no.100, p.141, and in the icon of Christ on the iconostasis of the parekklesion of St Anne in the Cave of the Apocalypse). Outside Patmos, the enthroned Christ by Ritzos was painted, most probably by the same artist, in the icon on the iconostasis of the church of St Paraskevi in the Chora of Naxos (Baltoyanni 2003, no.14, pp 75–7).

CHRYSANTHI BALTOYANNI



Attributed to Andreas Ritzos or his circle

The Virgin and Child with Angels, Saints and Christological Scenes

C.1500

Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
87.5 x 64.8 x 3.3 cm.
Candia, Crete
Athens, Benaki Museum, inv.no.3051

Conservation: S. Stassinopoulos, Benaki Museum
Conservation Department, 1986.

Literature: Kyngopoulos 1939, no.80, pp. 109–10,
pls 54–7; Athens 1983, no.18, pp. 29–30 (N. Chatzidakis);
Stassinopoulos 1987, pp. 53–8; Krems 1993, no.49,
pp. 240–41, pl.29 (G.M. Lechner); Athens 1994, no.53,
p. 232 (M. Vassilaki); Baltoyanni 2003, no.64, pp. 376–7, no.77,
pp. 424–5; New York 2005, no.11, pp. 52–3 (A. Drandaki);
Bucharest 2008, no.20, pp. 44–7 (A. Drandaki).

THIS ICON HAS a wide integral wooden frame. In the central panel is the Virgin and Child, seated on a backless throne, flanked by two venerating angels. On the upper frame are four Christological scenes developed in chronological sequence: the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, the Descent into Hell. Figures of saints, shown to the hip, are on the other sides of the frame – on the right and left sides they form facing pairs. Opposite St John the Baptist is St John the Theologian with open codex inscribed with the beginning of his Gospel. Below are the leading Apostles Peter and Paul, followed by the popular soldier-saints George and Demetrios, and St Catherine and St Anthony, as representatives of female martyrs and saintly monks respectively. In the middle of the lower horizontal frame, either side of the Cross, are St Constantine and St Helen, flanked by the hierarchs Gregory, John Chrysostom, Basil and Nicholas.

The icon's iconographic programme centres around the triumphal depiction of the Virgin enthroned and holding the Incarnate Word. With the venerating angels in imperial raiment, this refers directly to the apse decoration of

numerous Byzantine monuments. The four scenes on the frame underline the Divine Economy, starting with the Annunciation and the Immaculate Conception by the Virgin. Particular emphasis is placed on the Passion of the Lord, with two scenes holding a central place. The Resurrection and the Salvation of Mankind complete the narrative. Meanwhile the saints, in ranked arrangement, represent all the orders of sacred persons who make up the heavenly Church.

The theological thinking behind the iconographic organisation is underlined by the air of sanctity with which the subjects are rendered. The four scenes are distinguished by their clarity and balanced composition. The movements of the figures, even in the Passion scenes, are expressive yet restrained. The figures of the saints are serious, emblematic, in frontal pose excepting the three Apostles, who turn towards the Virgin and Child. The austerity of the synthesis is echoed by the limited but splendid palette. The painter used a discreet incised and painted preliminary drawing. The flesh is worked on the under-layer in fine brushstrokes, in successive shades of ochre, modulated with rose pink to create warm, earthly tones. White highlights complete the modelling. The geometric drapery is conscientiously rendered by multiple, successive striations and laminations.

In iconography and style the icon is associated closely with signed works from the Ritzos workshop, as well as with other Cretan works of the second half of the 15th century, such as the *Sticherarion* Sinai 1234, penned in 1469 by the chief priest (*protopapas*) of Candia Ioannis Plousiadenos (Manoussakas 1959; Toulaitos 1998; Vocotopoulos 2001). The portrait and iconographic type of the Virgin is repeated in the despotic icon in the Patmos monastery of St John the Theologian, signed by Andreas Ritzos (Chatzidakis 1985, no.10, p.61, pl.12). The central composition with the venerating angels is seen, with even the same coloration, on a panagiarion attributed to Nikolaos Ritzos in the same monastery, (Chatzidakis 1985, no.14, pp. 64–5, pl.22). The Annunciation and the Descent into Hell are executed in identical manner in a signed icon by Nikolaos Ritzos, once in the sacristy of the church of the Taxiarchs in Sarajevo; the differences between the depiction of the Crucifixion in the two icons are insignificant (Babić and Chatzidakis 1982,

p.321; Vocotopoulos 2005a, passim and figs 2, 8, 9). Although the corresponding scenes in both works seem to be based on the same working drawings (*anthivola*), the execution of the figures in the present icon is more refined. Exact parallels for the archangels and the saints on the frame can be seen in signed icons by Andreas Ritzos in Patmos and primarily in the composite icon in Tokyo (cat.51), as well as in the miniatures of the Plousiadenos *Sticherarion* (Vocotopoulos 2001, figs 6, 8, 13). The elegant features of the figures in the four scenes resemble the multi-figured groups in Andreas Ritzos' icons of the Dormition of the Virgin in Turin (cat.50) and of the Preparation of the Throne (Hetoimasia) in Tokyo (cat.51).

The Ritzos workshop has bequeathed us two signed works of comparable conception (Koshi 1973; Vocotopoulos 2001). The icon here has been attributed to Andreas Ritzos as well as to his son and pupil Nikolaos (Athens 1983, pp. 29–30; N. Chatzidakis 1998, p.327). Although the oeuvre of the Ritzos' workshop is published, its details remain largely unknown. Only recently has valuable technical data on the signed icons by Andreas Ritzos been presented (Zournatzis 2003). Of the host of works attributed to Andreas Ritzos, only 11 bear his signature and are, not by chance, of superior quality (Chatzidakis 1998, pp. 324–32; Drandaki 2002, p.50; Zournatzis 2003, pp. 911–12, n.5). The problem becomes more complex because Andreas had another son, Thomas, who was also a painter. No signed works by him have survived. Andreas also collaborated with other painters to produce commissions (Cattapan 1973, pp. 250–51; Constantoudaki 1973, pp. 310–11, no.9; Cattapan 1977, pp. 220, 222–3). The appeal and appreciation of his work also evoked a large number of imitators and successors. Indicative of Andreas Ritzos' reputation is the signature of his son Nikolaos on the Sarajevo icon, in which he declares proudly that he is 'son of Master Andreas' (*υιός του μαίστρου Ανδρέου*) (Vassilaki 1997, p.175, fig.6; Kazanaki-Lappa 2001, pp. 144–5). Thus, on present evidence, the icon discussed here should be attributed either to Andreas Ritzos or to a close collaborator who faithfully followed the same manner of painting.

ANASTASIA DRANDAKI



Andreas Paviás

Christ Pantokrator

Last quarter of the 15th century
Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
Candia, Crete
79 x 59 cm
Rome, Vatican, Campo Santo Teutonico

Literature: Essen 1962, no.440; Hagedorn 1977, p.239,
no.1; Chatzidakis 1974a, pp 188–9, pl.K'.1

CHRIST IS DEPICTED here in frontal bust, slightly turned to the right, his gaze fixed on the viewer. He blesses with his right hand, his fourth and little finger joined to the thumb, while in the left hand he clasps to his chest a closed luxurious codex with gem-studded binding and fine-chain clasps. Christ wears a purple chiton with gold-striated clavus. A dark green himation with multiple folds covers his left shoulder, falling behind his back, and is swathed around the waist, leaving his right arm free. His neck appears strong and his facial features are drawn with firm lines. Big eyes below arched eyebrows, a long nose, a small mouth, a thin drooping moustache, a round chin and a short, sparse, symmetrical beard compose an idealised figure. The flesh is modelled in deep-brown under-layer, gradually reaching paler tones and illuminated by prominent dense highlights on the projecting forehead, around the eyes, on the wrinkles of the neck and on the joints of the hands. The drapery is pronounced, with the edges of the folds stressed in black, while the over-folds of the heavy textiles are rendered with zigzagged outlines. Luxuriant hair with wavy locks and a middle parting frames the handsome face and falls heavily on the left shoulder. A cross-inscribed halo, embellished with punched motifs, surrounds his head, and higher up, inside cinnabar-red medallions, the abbreviations IC XC (Jesus Christ) are written in gold letters.

At bottom left, on the slightly raised integral frame of the icon, is the signature of Andreas Paviás – [XE]IP ANΔPEOY ΠΑΒΙΑ (Hand of Andreas Paviás) – one of the most important Cretan painters active in the second half of the

15th century (reported 1470–1504,† pre-1512). It is known from archival information that Paviás ran a large workshop in Candia with many apprentices, and had a large clientele on Crete as well as beyond its shores, including both Orthodox Christians and Catholics (Cattapan 1977, pp 200–209; Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, pp 259–64, figs 168–75). This icon is among the few known signed works by him. Together with the pair icon of the Virgin and Child, in the same institution, they were obviously the despotic icons on the iconostasis of a church (Hagedorn 1977, pl.11; Chatzidakis 1974a, pp 188–9, pl.K1).

The type of Christ in bust as a mature man, dressed in chiton and himation, blessing with his right hand and holding a closed codex in his left, is known from as early as the 6th century, in the encaustic icon in Sinai (Chatzidakis 1967, pp 201–4). It is defined by the epithet Pantokrator, although this is not encountered before the 12th century and accompanies the representation rather rarely (Timken Matthews 1990, pp 1–6, 21–48). Some of the best-known examples of the type are linked with the art of Constantinople of the 13th and 14th centuries. The icons in the Chilandar (Petković 1997, pp 32–3, 105) and the Vatopedi monasteries (*Monastery of Vatopaidi* 1998, p.362, fig.309), the two icons in the Pantokrator monastery on Mount Athos, one of which is now in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (Bank 1985, pp 323–4, figs 281–4; Papamastorakis 1998, pp 48–50, figs 21–2), the icon in the Byzantine Ecclesiastical Museum in Mytilene (Gounaris 1972, pp 15–18, pl.7; London 2008, no.241, p.441 (M. Vassilaki)) and the icon in the Chozoviotissa monastery on Amorgos (Vocotopoulos 1999, pp 360–63, pls 1–2) depict the same monumental figure. Variations are observed in Christ's gesture of blessing or in the codex, which is turned inwards or outwards, is closed or open, or replaced by a rolled scroll. Icons of this type and quality were the Cretan painters' models, as is revealed by the icon of the Pantokrator in the village of Anatoli near Ierapetra. This work is dated to the early 15th century and is characteristic of the transition from the Palaiologan style to the art of the Cretan workshops (Iraklion 1993, no.148, pp 503–4 (M. Borboudakis)).

We can witness the characteristics of the art

of the Cretan painters crystallised in three 15th-century icons: the icon of the Pantokrator in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (cat.45), which has been associated with the circle of Angelos (Iraklion 1993, no.85, pp 435–7), as well as the icons in the Antivouniotissa Museum, Corfu (Vocotopoulos 1990, pp 26–8, fig.18) and a private collection in Athens (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1994, pp 253–4, pl.A'), which seem to belong to the circle of Andreas Ritzos. This crystallised type is followed also in the icon shown here, which is closely related to the three previous ones, both in iconography and technique. The facial features and the portrait type of Christ, the arrangement of the hairstyle and the garments are the same. Comparable too are the position of the hands holding the Gospel book and the gem-studded decoration of the closed codex in Paviás' icon and the icons in Moscow and Corfu; in the icon in the Athenian collection Christ holds an open Gospel book. Another common element with the Antivouniotissa icon is the manner in which Christ blesses, with the three fingers joined. This particular gesture occurs already in the encaustic icon in Sinai, as well as in certain of the aforementioned Palaiologan works. A striking feature of Paviás' icon is the completely unnatural way in which the two rigid horizontal fingers are rendered, with the summarily indicated joints, an archaic trait that can be seen in the 12th-century Sinai icon of the Pantokrator (Chatzidakis 1995, pp 489–90, fig.3). The same gesture is repeated in a more natural and gentler manner in the Antivouniotissa icon. Noteworthy too is the more austere disposition which characterises Paviás' work as a whole, and which is evident here in the total lack of decoration on the garments, as well as in Christ's expression. In the Antivouniotissa icon, Christ is portrayed mild and serene as philanthropic saviour, whereas in the Paviás icon the expression is harsher and the spiritual intensity and severity of the omnipotent judge are emphasised.

MARIA KAZANAKI-LAPPA



Andreas Pavias

St Anthony

Second half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

104 x 40.5 x 2.8 cm

Crete, Candia (?)

Cephalonia, Corgialeneion Historical and Folk Art Museum, Spyridon Charokopos Collection, inv.no.9

Literature: Athens 1983, no.19, pp 30–31, pls 6, 8 (N. Chatzidakis); Athens 1986, no.110, pp 111–12 (N. Chatzidakis); Vassilaki 1990a, pp 407–8, fig.3; Vocotopoulos 1995, no.157, pp 225–6.

THE ASCETIC SAINT is shown standing, full length and frontal pose. His weight is placed firmly on his left leg, while his right is relaxed. In his right hand he holds a staff and in his left an unrolled scroll on which is written in black capital letters the usual inscription for representations of St Anthony: 'ΙΔΟΝ ΕΓΩ / ΤΑ ΠΑΓΙΔΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΒΟΛ(Ο)Υ / ΥΠΙΩΜΕΝΑ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΓΗ' ('I have seen the devil's traps spread on the earth').

'An old man with short, forked beard' (Hermeneia/Ερμηνεία 1909, pp 162, 231), he wears the monastic habit: an ochre-brown chiton with narrow black belt, a brownish-red mantle and a deep-blue cowl, one end of which falls in front on the left shoulder. On his chest he wears a gold pectoral cross, while another white cross decorates the cowl on his forehead. The ground of the icon is gold, the foreground green. The halo is denoted by a double incised circle on the ground, and to right and left of it is the nominative inscription in red majuscules: Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟ)Σ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ (St Anthony). Bottom left, on the green ground, is the signature of the painter, in black capital letters: ΧΕΙΡ ΑΝΔΡΕ(ΟΥ) ΠΑΒΙΑ (Hand of Andreas Pavias).

The iconographic type of the saint follows the model that was established in Palaiologan times and was adopted by the Cretan painters. The representation of the full-length hermit, frequent in Byzantine wall paintings, is rarer in portable icons. The earliest known example is the icon of the second half of the 14th century,

in the church of St Anthony, Corfu (Vocotopoulos 1990, pp 3–4). More common in Cretan iconography is the type of the saint in bust (Athens 1993, pp 562–3). The saint is encountered in full length in a small number of icons: in the early 16th-century icon by the painter Demetrios, in the metochion of the Sinai monastery of St Catherine, Zakynthos (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998a, pp 80–81); on the bema doors attributed to Michael Damaskenos in the Zakynthos Museum (Chatzidakis 1987, p.245); in the signed icon by Michael Damaskenos in the church of the First Municipal Cemetery of Corfu (Vocotopoulos 1990, pp 47–8); in the *vita* icon of St Anthony by Emmanuel Tzanes, 1645, in the church of the Virgin of Strangers (Panagioton Xenon) in Corfu (Vocotopoulos 1990, pp 108–10); and in an unpublished icon of the 16th to 17th century, in the monastery of St Andrew Milapidia, Cephalonia.

The figure of the full-length saint follows two iconographic types, the main difference being the rendering of the scroll and the staff. The variation with the staff in the saint's right hand, which is represented by the icon here, is rather rare. It is encountered in the early 16th-century *vita* icon in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, p.158); in an unpublished icon in the monastery of the Virgin Myrtiotissa at Pelekas, Corfu, in which the iconography of the present icon is repeated, the only difference being the text of the scroll; as well as in a later, 17th-century, wall painting, in the church of St Arsenios at Valaneio, Corfu (Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Τέχνη στην Κέρκυρα 1994, p.75).

The icon here is an important example of Andreas Pavias' style. The saint's serious and serene face is modelled in ochre with olive-green hues, the flesh is paler, the outlines are fine and in brown, while red brushstrokes emphasise the cheeks, the nose and the lips. For all the painter's skill, disproportion is observed in the figure, as well as stiffness in the folds and thick joints of the hands, characteristics encountered in other works by Pavias.

Andreas Pavias (documented 1440–1504) was one of the most important Cretan painters active in Candia in the second half of the 15th century. According to archival testimonies, he was a teacher of the arts of painting and letters.

One of his students was the painter Angelos Bitzamanos (Cattapan 1972, pp 217, 221; Cattapan 1977, p.201). The small number of extant works by him bears witness to his ability to paint in two manners, *alla greca* and *alla latina*, like other Cretan painters contemporary with him such as Andreas Ritzos and Nikolaos Tzafouris (cat.50–53, 56–7). Pavias was an eclectic painter. In most of his known works, such as the Crucifixion in the National Gallery in Athens (New York 2009, no.17, pp 64–5 (M. Kazanaki-Lappa)) and the Rossano Pietà (Vassilaki 1997, p.182, fig.14), he appears to have been greatly influenced by Late Gothic art. In the works that faithfully adhere closely to the Byzantine tradition, such as the Dormition of Hosios Ephraim the Syrian in Jerusalem, the influence of the anti-classical trend of the Late Palaiologan period can be discerned (Chatzidakis 1974a, pp 188–95).

DIAMANTO RIGAKOU



Nikolaos Tzafouris

The Deesis

Second half of the 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on coarse linen, gold leaf

125 x 22 cm

Candia, Crete

Corfu, Antivouniotissa Museum, inv.no.210

Conservation: S. Sourtziinos, 1990.

Literature: Papadopoulou 2001, Baltoyanni 2003, no.12, pp.71–3, pls.23–4; N. Chatzidakis 2006b, p.286, fig.6; Lymberopoulou 2007, pp.203–4, pl.5.28; New York 2009, no.14, p.60 (V. Papadopoulou).

THIS ICON comprises three vertical boards and one horizontal at the bottom, and has a pointed-arched top. It is in relatively good condition, and was formerly set in a wooden frame which no longer survives.

The Deesis is represented in its established iconographic scheme. At the centre is Christ, on a wood-carved throne with low curved back and two cushions. He blesses with his right hand; in his left he holds a closed Gospel book with bejewelled cover. He wears a deep-red chiton and a green himation with dense gold striations, which is folded over below the Gospel book. His facial features emanate serene nobility and are worked in pale flesh tones with roseate hues on the brown under-layer, with the volumes modelled by fine white radiating lines. Christ is flanked left by the Virgin and right by St John the Baptist, both standing behind the throne. The Virgin is shown in supplication, her face suffused with a tender but sorrowful expression. She inclines her head towards Christ, to whom she outstretches her hand with its well-drawn fingers. The modelling of her facial features is close-textured, in delicate translucent tones. St John the Baptist is likewise represented in a pose of supplication, turned three-quarters towards Christ. The volumes of his emaciated face are skillfully rendered with a few highlights on the dark under-layer.

At the bottom left was the figure of the donor – only two hands holding an open book survive. On the same side, beneath the

Virgin's feet, is a majuscule inscription with his name: '[ΔΟ]ΥΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ Θ[ΕΟ]Υ ΙΩ[ΑΝΝ]ΟΥ ΝΤΕCΠΕΛΩ' (of the servant of God Ioannis Despelo). There is a corresponding inscription on the right side, with the name of the painter: ΧΕΙΡ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΖΑΦ[ΟΥΡΗ] (Hand of Nikolaos Tzafouris).

The icon is impressive not only for its dimensions but also, and primarily, for the well-structured composition, which refers to corresponding 15th-century works. In iconography and style this Deesis is associated with a group of icons of the same subject, which are dated to the 15th to 16th century. These cleave to Byzantine tradition, are infused with the same aesthetic values and are, in the majority, works by eponymous Cretan painters. Among the earliest are an early 15th-century icon in the Collection of St Catherine of the Sinaites (Iraklion 1993, no.92, pp.445–6 (M. Borboudakis)) and three icons signed by Angelos: one in the Agia Moni Viannou (cat.46), a second in the Canellopoulos Collection (cat.36) and a third in the Sinai monastery (Drandakis 1990, p.127, fig.77). The same group also includes the icon by Nikolaos Ritzos, with the Deesis in the centre and Dodekaorton scenes on the frame, once in Sarajevo (fig.29 in the present catalogue; Chatzidakis 1985, p.164, pl.202; Vocotopoulos 2005a) and another icon in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Kreidl-Papadopoulou 1970, p.66, fig.42). Two more icons of the Deesis can also be assigned to the group, one in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (Felicetti-Liebenfels 1956, p.94, pl.120B) and one in a private collection in London (London 1994, no.230, p.216, fig.230 (M. Vassilaki)).

A common characteristic of the Deesis in all these icons is the poses of Christ and the Virgin. The physiognomy of the figure of Christ and the technique of executing the drapery, with its dense acutely pointed folds, is also similar. Differences occur not only in the personal style of each painter but also in such individual details as the open or closed Gospel book, the cushions on the throne, the footstool and, more rarely, in the wood-carved throne and the iconographic type of St John the Baptist. The large carved wooden throne is a common element in most of the icons cited and seems to derive from an earlier icon by Angelos, now in the Canellopoulos Museum

(cat.36). All the above icons repeat the same spare decoration of the curved back and the legs of the throne, which end in pommels and pyramidal bases. The figures of the enthroned Christ and the Virgin in the icon here also refer to works by Angelos, such as the icon in the Agia Moni Viannou. Both artists paint in the same manner, in rendering the figures with the same poses and gestures and in the individual details. Although Christ in Angelos' icon is more imposing, both figures nonetheless display the same flawless drawing of the face and modelling of the flesh, as well as the same geometrical organisation of the drapery.

In this work Tzafouris moves within the strict confines of Byzantine tradition and uses iconographic elements from earlier or contemporary painters. He obviously makes no attempt to differentiate himself, even though his ability to elaborate new iconographic types – some of which were seminal for the course of post-Byzantine painting – is well known. Tzafouris was one of the most important Cretan painters in the second half of the 15th century and is renowned for the facility with which he painted *alla maniera latina* as well as *alla maniera greca*, although until recently the latter was only an assumption, as there was no analogous work to confirm it. Most of his known works are influenced by Late Gothic art. In contrast to his other signed works, in this icon he followed a purely Byzantine style, without admixtures of western traits. Of interest too is the use of the Greek language in the inscriptions and in the painter's signature (on all other known works by Tzafouris he signs in Latin), as well as the name of the dedicant, ΝΤΕCΠΕΛΩ (Despelo), which refers to a Hellenised resident of Candia.

Research to date has failed to find any data relating to the donor. The church of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Hypapante), from which this icon comes (it is believed to have belonged originally to the Kombitsis family from Crete), stands in the bay of Gouvies in Corfu, close to the old Venetian naval dockyard. It most probably reached the island after the fall of Candia to the Ottoman Turks (1669), when the Ionian Islands were a port of call for the great wave of refugees bound for Italy.

VARVARA N. PAPADOPOULOU



Nikolaos Tzafouris

The Road to Calvary
(Christ Helkomenos)

Late 15th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

69.2 × 52.1 cm

Candia, Crete

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art,

no.29.158.746 (Bashford Dean Memorial Collection)

Provenance: art market, Munich, pre-1929; purchased
1929 through Bashford Dean Memorial Fund**Conservation:** Metropolitan Museum, 2006.**Literature:** Wehle 1940, p.1; Chatzidakis 1974a, p.187,
pl.III; Cattapan 1977, p.234; Baltimore 1988, no.52,
p.211 (G. Kalas); Chatzidakis 1987, p.294, fig.164;
Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1998a, pp.462–3, 484–5,
figs 5a–b; New York 2004, no.308, pp.505–6
(M. Georgopoulou); New York 2009, no.15, p.62
(M. Constantoudaki-Kitromilides).

THE ICON REPRESENTS Christ's path from Jerusalem to Calvary, one of the last episodes in the cycle of his Passion. It bears the inscription 'EAKOMENOC EHI CT(AI)POY' ('Christ being led to the Crucifixion') and the signature: NICOLAVS · ZAFVRI · PINXIT (Nikolaos Tzafouris painted [it]), revealing as its creator one of the most interesting Cretan painters of the 15th century (c.1455–1500/1).

Christ proceeds to the right, wearing a long deep red chiton with gold-embroidered clavi, and on his head a crown of thorns. With both hands he holds on his left shoulder a large cross. To the right and in front of him is a Roman officer in metal armour. In his left hand he supports a spear, on which is wound a red *vexillum* with the initials SPQR (*Senatus Populusque Romanus* = Senate and People of Rome). In his right hand he holds a rope passed in a noose around the neck of Christ. Behind Christ is a group of seven soldiers in Byzantine military uniform.

Elements of Byzantine tradition and of western art coexist in the composition, a widespread phenomenon in the religious painting of Venetian-held Crete. The representation of

Christ's progress to Calvary, fairly frequent in Palaiologan Passion cycles, is rarely encountered on portable icons. The Cross, at once symbol of the Holy Passion and the Salvation of Mankind, is usually carried by Simon of Cyrene in Byzantine representations of the Road to Calvary, in accordance with the narrative in the synoptic gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke). In rare instances it is carried by Christ, according to the narrative of the Evangelist John (29:16–17) and the reference in the *Triodion*, as is the case here. Christ carrying the Cross is depicted sporadically in the Early Christian and Middle Byzantine periods. In Palaiologan representations – which include monuments on Crete, the place of activity of the painter of the present icon – Christ bearing the Cross is shown either upright as victor over death, as here, or bent over (examples in Katselaki 1996–7, pp.184–6). The iconography of the scene and the variations of it have been studied quite extensively (Millet 1916, pp.362–79; Kotta 1937–8, pp.245–67; Katselaki 1996–7, pp.167–99). It is noted that Christ carrying the Cross himself is the preferred image in Italian art of Late Medieval times (Millet 1916, p.369; Sandberg-Vavala 1929, pp.266–77; Derbes 1996, pp.113–37) as well as later.

The painter in the present work created a singular composition, drawing also on Italian tradition and adding elements from reality. The soldier in the foreground, dragging Christ by a rope, is observed in Byzantine representations, but is depicted here on the basis of Western European models as an iron-clad knight, the detailed rendering of whose panoply indicates knowledge of the armour of the period, without precluding also the use of an indirect source, a painting or an engraving (of St George by Andrea Mantegna, in the *Gallerie dell'Accademia*, Venice).

Insistence on oblique axes demonstrate an awareness of Renaissance artists' inquiries regarding perspective. Linear perspective is used here, a rare feature in post-Byzantine painting. However, space remains essentially flat. At the same time, shadow is cast on the ground by the figures' legs. The work is distinguished too by the elegant drawing, the delicate gold striations, the pseudo-Kufic ornaments and, especially, by the expressiveness of the figures with a restrained registering of moods and emotions. To summarise, the iconographic components and the manner of

the work point to an eclectic combination of elements of Byzantine tradition, Late Gothic realism and Renaissance currents. Characteristic of the dual cultural experience of the Cretan painters, working for patrons of different provenance, is the use of two languages in the inscriptions of the icon: Greek for the subject and Latin for the signature.

Recent cleaning of the icon in the laboratories of the Metropolitan Museum of Art has revealed an unexpected variety of harmonious chromatic hues.

A refined work intended for a Latin-speaking client cognisant of Byzantine and western art, the icon was perhaps a private commission from a Catholic with a special preference for the subject, or perhaps belonged to an ensemble with other scenes of the Passion such as a *pala d'altare*, a polyptych of western type – in which case it is possible that it was intended for some side-chapel or church of Christ Helkomenos, since the painter's signature is on this representation. It is tantalising to connect this icon with a corresponding one by Tzafouris, of 1492, commissioned by the Venetian Provisor of Nafplion, Johannes Nani (Cattapan 1972, pp.209–10). In this case the icon would have belonged to the lower zone (*predella*) of the whole (Baltoyanni 1994, p.299). Works of this kind by painters with Cretan education are represented by the 'polyptych' in Boston (Constantoudaki 1993–4, pp.285–301) and the long narrow icon of the Virgin enthroned in the Benaki Museum (Baltoyanni 1994, no.86, pp.300–301 and pls.178–9). Other documents concerning Nikolaos Tzafouris have been discovered in the Venice Archive (Cattapan 1972, p.208, no.115 and pp.209–10; Constantoudaki 1973, pp.300–301; Cattapan 1977, pp.225–34), which attest to his presence in Candia between 1487 and 1500.

This outstanding icon bears witness to the high standard of Cretan painting workshops in the 15th century. A reference made known recently reveals the presence of this icon in an Italian private collection in the first half of the 18th century (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2007, pp.48–9).

MARIA CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES



Nikolaos Ritzos (attributed)

Saints Peter and Paul Holding the Model of a Church

Second half of the 15th century to 1507

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

53 x 41 cm

Candia, Crete

Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia, inv.no.9382

(purchased in 1956 from an antique-dealer by the Soprintendenza di Firenze)

Conservation: Conserved in Florence, 1993.

Literature: Marcucci 1958, pp.82–3, no.27 bis, Athens 1964, no.229; Chatzidakis 1985, no.128, p.159; Vassilaki 1990a, p.418, n.54; Venice 1993, no.16, pp.76–81 (N. Chatzidakis); Davidov-Temerinsky 2000, pp.39–56; Gioles 2004, pp.277–8; Vocotopoulos 2005a, p.223; Semoglou 2009, pp.68–71f.

HIGH ON THE gold ground is the inscription: *Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ / Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ* (St Peter / St Paul). Between the bodies of the two saints is a slightly damaged four-line inscription in well-formed red majuscules (for the correct reading of the inscription see Athens 1964, no.229 – French edition): *‘ΕΙ [ΚΑΙ] ΚΥΝΙΚΤΗC Τ[ΗΝ] ΕΚΚΛΗCΙΑΝ CΩΤΕΡ / ΠΕΤΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΥΛΩ, CΠΑΘΑΙC ΗΚΟΝΗΜΕΝ[ΑΙ]C / ΟΜΩC ΜΗ ΛΙΠΗC ΑΥΤΗΝ ΚΡΑΤΥΝΩΝ / ΕΚΤΗCΩ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΙΜΑΤΙ CΩ ΤΙΜΙΩ* (‘Although you founded your Church, Saviour, through Peter and Paul, with sharpened swords, but do not neglect to strengthen it, because you built it with your holy blood’).

The two apostles are represented full length, facing each other and holding a large model of a church. On the left is Peter, holding in his left hand a rolled scroll and keys. On the right is Paul, holding in his left hand a closed codex and a sword raised above his shoulder. The sword blade is badly damaged and barely discernible, whereas the gold hilt is intact (Venice 1993, no.16, p.76 and drawing on p.79 (N. Chatzidakis)). The iconography of the two Apostles is clearly an accurate illustration of the lines of the inscription mentioned above, which are read in the liturgy on the feast day of

the Apostles Peter and Paul, 29 June (*Menaion of June*, pp.405–24). Nonetheless, it should be noted that the sword as an element in the iconography of Paul appears in western examples and more rarely in Italo-Cretan icons (see examples in Venice 1993, no.16, p.76 (N. Chatzidakis)).

This is a subject which, like that of the Embrace of the two Apostles, was disseminated in Venetian-held Crete particularly during the 15th and 16th centuries. Moreover, it has been ascertained that the iconography of the Embrace was crystallised by the painter Angelos, and that the wide diffusion of depictions of the two Apostles is linked with the expression of pro-Unionist tendencies in Cretan society of that time (cf. Baltoyanni 1986, no.162, p.95; Vassilaki 1990a; Venice 1993, no.16, pp.76–81 (N. Chatzidakis); Gioles 2004, pp.276–8). The dome of the church of St Andrew at Peristera houses the earliest representation of the subject (Mavropoulou-Tsioumi 1997; she dates them to the 9th century). The most important as well as the closest parallel to the icon discussed here is that on the lower border of the well-known icon by Nikolaos Ritzos in Sarajevo (Vocotopoulos 1990, pp.95–6; Venice 1993, p.78 (N. Chatzidakis); Vocotopoulos 2005a, pp.222–4, figs 1, 12; fig.29 in the present catalogue); while in the *Sticherarion* of the pro-Unionist Ioannis Plousiadenos, in the Sinai monastery (1469), the Apostles are depicted in similar pose but do not hold the model of a church (Vocotopoulos 2001, p.99, fig.15).

In the first extensive presentation of the icon, in 1993 (Venice 1993, no.16, pp.76–81 (N. Chatzidakis)), I noted the similarity of external traits of the church model to the Florentine church of Santa Maria del Fiore, in which the Unionist Council had assembled in 1438–9. The church had been consecrated only a few years earlier, in 1436, and the lantern of its very wide dome, an architectural achievement of Filippo Brunelleschi, was inaugurated in 1460 (Heydenrich 1974, pp.29ff, figs 2, 29, 31). Different interpretative approaches to the presence of the church model in this icon have been developed in subsequent publications (Davidov-Temerinsky 2000; Gioles 2004; Semoglou 2009). Davidov-Temerinsky looked at the theological symbolism of the building and investigated the possibility that it is a symbolic depiction of heavenly Jerusalem, without

reaching a positive conclusion and without rejecting, in the end, its identification as Santa Maria del Fiore. Gioles pointed out the pro-Unionist character of the subject, relying also on the similarity of the church model to Santa Maria del Fiore; while Semoglou, drawing on the wide bibliography on the symbolism of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem in East and West, relates the church depicted in the icon to the temple of Solomon, which in the Middle Ages was confused with the Dome of the Rock. Moreover, the identification of the church in the icon as Brunelleschi's building, Santa Maria del Fiore is consistent also with the Unionist Council of 1438–9, as well as with the documented placement upon the altar of the church of two small statues of the leading Apostles – Peter holding the keys and of Paul holding an ‘upright sword’ – exactly as it is enhanced in the icon.

Represented in the interior of the church, and in contrast to the Western appearance of its exterior, is a Cretan wood-carved iconostasis with shell-shaped epistyle and with the despotic icons of Christ and the Virgin (Venice 1993, p.78 (N. Chatzidakis)), and two seraphim. Although seraphim are not encountered as an independent subject in icons, it should be noted that in the wall paintings of 1546 in the conches of the prothesis and the diakonikon of the Stavronikita monastery (Chatzidakis 1986, figs 72–3) they are represented as an independent subject, in pairs holding vexilla with the inscription *ΑΓΙΟΣ* (Holy), worshipping Christ Pantokrator who is much higher up, in the dome of the church.

In addition to the mien of the two saints and the striking iconographic similarity to the representation in the icon by Nikolaos Ritzos, other stylistic traits of the icon shown here – such as the finely drawn facial features, the accomplished treatment of the drapery of the garments, the flawless design of the church, and the muted tones of the palette – also advocate the attribution of this work to the Cretan painter who was active in the second half of the 15th century and died before 1507 (Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, pp.333–4).

NANO CHATZIDAKIS



Michael Damaskenos

The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple

c.1570–80

Egg tempera on wood,
primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf
87 × 67 cm

Crete, Candia

Patmos, Monastery of the Annunciation (formerly
Kathisma Evangelismou)Literature: Chatzidakis 1985, no.60, pp. 104–5, pls 39,
115; Chatzidakis 1988, p.119, figs 27–8.

TWO MAJOR FEASTS in the Orthodox calendar – the Presentation of the Virgin (Eisodia) in the Temple and the Presentation of Christ (Hypapante) in the Temple – are represented in this icon, in two successive horizontal zones. In the lower zone, bottom left, is the signature of the most important Cretan painter of portable icons in the 16th century: ΧΕΙΡ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΟΥ (Hand of Michael Damaskenos) (Chatzidakis 1985, no.60, pp. 104–5, pls 39, 115).

In the Eisodia, the Virgin's parents, Joachim and Anne, accompany the young Mary to the temple, where she is received by the chief priest Zacharias in front of the royal doors. At the centre, under a baldachin with raised velum and glass hanging lamp, is the altar table, on which lies a closed book. At top left, Mary sits on a stepped dais in the sanctuary under a smaller baldachin, gazing at the angel who brings her food. The low green marble chancel screen of the presbytery is decorated with closure slabs with reliefs of Abraham in prayer, and the Sacrifice by Abraham. Behind the holy parents, in the right part of the representation, six maidens – the daughters of the Jews – hold lighted candles. In the background is a wall linking two buildings, from which hangs a red arras.

The scene, described in the *Protevangelion* of James (7:1–3, 8:1–2), belongs to the cycle of the childhood of the Virgin (Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964–5, vols 1–2, especially vol.1, pp. 136–67; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1975a,

pp. 161–93). The depiction together of Mary's presentation in the temple and her stay in the sanctuary added to the subject the title 'Holy of Holies', which Damaskenos also uses. The specific type, with the same arrangement of the persons as in the present icon, had been created in the Middle Byzantine period. It was established, with Palaiologan influences, in Cretan icons from the first half of the 15th century, as attested by the monumental icon by Angelos from the Loverdos Collection (cat.32), a smaller icon attributed to him in Sinai (Drandakis 1990, p.207, fig.81), and other 15th-century and later icons (such as Iráklion 1993, no.110, pp. 467–8 (M. Borboudakis); Thessaloniki 2009, no.11, pp. 196–7 (K. Marsengill)).

However, Damaskenos deviates from this model in details so as to balance his horizontal composition. He alters architectural elements, giving the building on the right Renaissance features, and adds relief representations to the chancel screen and the dais of Mary. Nevertheless, he does not move away from the principles of the second Palaiologan style, on which Cretan painting in the 15th and indeed the 16th century was based.

Other changes have a theological meaning. The eucharistic content of the Sacrifice by Abraham on the closure slab of the templon is appropriate to the space of the sanctuary, where Mary was installed and where the Divine Eucharist is celebrated during the Liturgy. And again the artist has no hesitation in adopting the aesthetic of western tradition, showing a preference for Venetian models (Sacrifice by Abraham) and proficiency in the free brushwork (even 'corrections' (*pentimenti*) can be observed), the Renaissance modelling and the Mannerist movement. After all, he had lived and worked not only in Candia but also in Italy (Constantoudaki 1988b, vol.1, ch.1).

In the Hypapante, the elder Symeon, on the right in front of the closed doors of the bema, holds the infant Jesus, while bowing towards the Virgin at the centre. On the left, the prophetess Anna unrolls a scroll with the inscription 'Τοῦτο τὸ βρέφος οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν ἐστερέωσεν' ('This infant consolidated heaven and earth'), as she turns towards Joseph who offers a pair of dove or turtle-dove chicks. The holy bema has a marble chancel screen (on which are discernible grisaille reliefs, possibly of prophets), a columned baldachin with glass

hanging lamp and a drawn-back velum (as in the Eisodia), and an altar table. In the background runs a wall with relief seraphim and two high buildings.

The Hypapante (Luke 2:22–38) has been represented by various iconographic types (Xyngopoulos 1929, pp. 328–39; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1975b, pp. 195–241). The present icon follows the type that held sway in Late Palaiologan and post-Byzantine painting, with Christ in the hands of Symeon and the Theotokos ready to take him (Xyngopoulos 1929, pp. 332–4; Maguire 1980–81, pp. 262–9). The representation is replete with elements alluding both to the Incarnation and to the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ (Pallas 1965, pp. 174–6; Baltoyanni 2003, no.41, pp. 245–7, pls 83, 86, 87).

This particular iconography had been crystallised by previous generations of Cretan painters, as in an icon in Patmos (Chatzidakis 1985, no.26, pp. 78–9, pl.24), on the border of the icon with the Deesis by Nikolaos Ritzos (Vocotopoulos 2005a, pp. 208, 213, figs 1, 4) and in an icon by Theophanes Strelitzas-Bathas (Karakatsani 1974, p.72, fig.17). Here, however, the representation is developed widthwise.

The two subjects depicted in the icon are conceptually related. With Mary's installation in the sanctuary, the person through whom the Incarnation of the Lord will take place is sanctified, while in the Hypapante 'Christ the Lord', who will become flesh and will be sacrificed 'for the fall and rising of many in Israel', is recognised.

Damaskenos painted the Hypapante also for the iconostasis of the church of St George of the Greeks in Venice (Chatzidakis 1962, no.40, pp. 63–4, pl.29), during his sojourn in the city. There the subject is developed heightwise, in the same iconographic type but with differences in the details of the buildings and the movements of persons. Stylistic affinities permit the suggestion that the two examples are close in date.

MARIA CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES



Emmanuel Lambardos

St John the Theologian
and his Disciple Prochoros
in the Cave on Patmos

1602

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

113 × 65 cm

Candia, Crete (?)

Venice, Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and
Post-Byzantine Studies, inv.no.37**Literature:** Chatzidakis 1962, no.55, pp.84–5, pl.42;
Kazanaki-Lappa 2005, no.32, p.68.

AT THE CAVE ENTRANCE, the aged St John, sitting on a low cushioned stool, turns his head backwards and upwards, towards heaven, from where the hand of God projects in blessing, while a ray of light beams in his direction, dictating to him the Divine Word. John, in turn, dictates to his young disciple, Prochoros, sitting modestly opposite him writing in the unrolled scroll the opening words of the Evangelist's Gospel: 'EN APXH HN O LOGOC KAI O LOGOC' ('In the beginning was the Word, and the Word') (John 1:1). Between the two figures are a low writing desk (scriptorium) and a lectern, on which the beginning of the text of the Revelation is written: 'ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΗCOY ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ ΗΝ ΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΔΕΙΞΑΙ ΤΟΙC ΔΟΥΛΟΙC ΑΥΤΟΥ Α ΔΕΙ ΓΕΝΕCΘΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΑΙC ΚΑΙ ΕCΗΜΑΙΝΕΝ ΑΠΟCΤΕΙΛΑC ΔΙΑ' ('The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show his servants – things which must shortly take place. And he sent and signified it') (Revelation 1:1).

The icon is enriched with realistic details. Upon the scriptorium are writing implements – an inkwell, a penknife, a tool for incising the lines on the vellum. From the lectern hangs a red cloth, presumably used by the scribe, and suspended from a wooden nail in the depths of the cave is a small basket with rolled manuscripts. Above Prochoros' head is an inscription with his name – Ο ΑΓΓ[OC] ΙΠΟΧΟΡΟC (St Prochoros) – while inscribed on the gold ground is the name of the Evangelist, which also entitles the work: Ο ΑΓΓ[OC]

ΙΩ[ΑΝΝΗC] Ο ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟC (St John the Theologian).

The signature of the painter and the date are written in cinnabar red in the low middle of the panel: ΧΕΙΡ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΗΙΑΡΑΟΥ ΑΧΒ (Hand of Emmanuel Lambardos 1602). As archival sources document, Lambardos came from a family of painters from Rethymnon, who settled in Candia in the late 16th century. The family workshop established itself as one of the most eminent in the city during the 17th century – and two more-or-less contemporary painters are known by the name of Emmanuel Lambardos. These two painters sign their works in identical manner and were uncle and nephew (Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, pp.141–2; Kazanaki-Lappa 2003, pp.402–6). The icon shown here is attributed to the elder of the two, a conservative painter who confined himself to the faithful reproduction of established iconographic types of Cretan painting, in a highly accomplished technique. In this icon Lambardos copies, with remarkable fidelity, a smaller icon signed by Angelos, which is in the monastery of St Catherine at Sinai (ca.40). In terms of iconography, the differences between the two works are minimal, but not without significance. Lambardos added the lectern with the inscribed scroll and hung the manuscript basket on the cave wall, while he omitted the sparse vegetation at the base of the cave which exists in the Sinai icon. The addition of the lectern with the opening words of the Revelation underlines that John is the author of the apocalyptic text, as it is accepted in the Christian tradition, and that this was written earlier than the Gospel text, which the Evangelist dictates to his disciple. However, the most important difference between the two works lies in the figure of the Theologian. In the icon by Angelos, John's head is in his left hand, which barely protrudes from his himation, intensifying his pose and expressing the moment of divine inspiration more imposingly than the rather serene pose of John in Lambardos' icon, with his palm turned outwards on his chest. The gesture originates from another model and is better attuned to the rather academic spirit of the work.

The iconographic subject of St John dictating the Gospel to his disciple Prochoros is based on the apocryphal text of the Acts of

John, the earliest known example of which is the miniature in the 10th-century Four Gospels in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Par.gr.230) (Pallas 1967, pp.363–9). This subject, as frontispiece in the Gospel of John as well as in headpieces and initial letters, was disseminated widely in Byzantine illuminated Gospel books from the 11th to the 14th centuries, and is present also in wall paintings. In the earlier representations, John is depicted standing in a mountainous landscape or a landscape with cave, or without any landscape. The representation with the two figures seated in a mountainous landscape appears in the late 13th century, in a wall painting in the Protaton, Mount Athos (Tsigaridas 2003, fig.30), as well as in 14th-century manuscripts, such as the Four Gospels of 1321 (cod.80, fol.275v) in the Dionysiou monastery, and the 14th-century Lectionary (cod.62, fol.3v) in the Koutloumousiou monastery (Pelekianides *et al.* 1973, pp.132–3, 424–5, 250–51, 453). Both figures are depicted inside a cave in a series of 14th- to early 15th-century miniatures (Vassilaki 1994b, p.327). Closest to the Angelos icon at Sinai are the 14th-century miniatures in cod.33, fol.104v of the Dionysiou monastery, and cod.247, fol.257v of the Vatopedi monastery.

Lambardos reproduces the Palaiologan model, which Angelos copied, with respect for the painterly values and flawless technique. The robust figure of the Evangelist, enveloped in his purple himation, attracts the viewer's attention, while opposite him, the young Prochoros, a tender adolescent figure, wears a blue chiton and green himation. Both figures converge and are projected against the black depths of the cave, the exterior of which is formed with broad grey planes and carefully drawn pointed peaks. Lambardos creates here one of his best works, keeping the Palaiologan tradition alive in the early 17th century.

MARIA KAZANAKI-LAPPA



Emmanuel Lambardos

The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple

Late 16th to early 17th century

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

45 x 36 cm

Crete

Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum,

inv.no.BXM 1561

Conservation: S. Baltoyannis, Byzantine and Christian Museum Conservation Laboratory.

Literature: Αναστάσιος Ορφάνδης 1978, p.681, no.1, fig.18; Athens 1984, no.24, p.37 (N. Chatzidakis); Acheimastou-Potamianou 1985, p.85; Iráklion 1993, no.213, pp.565–6 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou); Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, p.143, no.7; Kalafati 2004, fig.144

THIS ICON WAS possibly intended for an icon-stand or for the epistyle of an iconostasis (Iráklion 1993, p.565). The subject is developed in two episodes depicted in the usual iconography, rendering the narrative of the apocryphal *Protevangelion* of James (chs 7–8) and which was already elaborated in the 10th century and reproduced with only minor variations thereafter (Schiller 1980, p.67; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1964–5, vol.2, pp.112ff). Both episodes take place inside the Jewish temple, denoted by the architectural features framing the figures.

The main scene of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple occupies the larger part of the painted surface. At the centre, Joachim and Anne lead the Virgin to the high-priest Zacharias, who enfolds her protectively. The Virgin and Zacharias are set off from the other figures by their depiction inside the sanctuary, which is indicated by a low semicircular chancel screen set on a two-stepped stylobate (on which the figures also stand), a baldachin with the curtain drawn slightly aside, and the altar table beneath it. Joachim and Anne stand outside the sanctuary. They are accompanied by the Jewish virgins holding lighted candles, 'so the child not turn backwards and her heart be held captive outside the temple of the Lord' (*Protevangelion*, ch.7). The procession moves

anticlockwise, but the virgin in the lead turns slightly backwards, as if conversing with the one behind her. All the figures stand on a floor elevated by one step, shown schematically as a red band across the width of the lower side of the icon.

The second episode appears in smaller scale in the upper left corner. The Virgin, now identified by the ligatures ΜΗ(ΤΗ)Ρ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ (Mother of God), is seated beneath a baldachin on the third step of the altar, and receives 'food from the hand of an angel' (*Protevangelion*, chs 7–8). The angel appears partially from behind the baldachin of the main scene, holding in his right hand the bread of heaven, which he offers to the Virgin. Discernible towards the top of the panel is the inscription ΤΑ ΑΓΙΑ (The Holy). Across the background is a high white wall decorated with vegetal motifs. Behind the wall on the right is a white tower with pitched roof, also decorated with vegetal motifs, as counterweight to the 'Holy of Holies', securing the symmetry of the composition. On the lower right side of the icon, upon a red band, is the painter's signature: ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΜΠΑΡΔΟΥ ΧΕΙΡ (Hand of Emmanuel Lambardos).

As seen earlier, two painters of this name are known – uncle and nephew – who lived in Crete in the late 16th and the first half of the 17th century, the first from 1587 to 1631 and the second from 1623 to 1644 (Kazanaki-Lappa 1981, p.216; Chatzidakis and Drakopoulou 1997, pp.141–9). Research is not currently sufficiently advanced to distinguish between the works of these two homonymous painters. The stylistic traits and the quality of the painting of both are extremely similar, to the extent that it seems at some point they had a common workshop. Nonetheless, the icon of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple is to be counted among their genuine works and can therefore be dated to the late 16th or the early 17th century.

The iconographic details reveal clearly its striking similarity to the icon of the same subject by Angelos, also in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (cat.32). This is attested by the general arrangement of the composition and the poses and gestures of the figures, particularly of the Jewish virgins, as well as by individual elements: the dress of the virgin to the fore; the red textile tied at one end to a

metal pole at the apex of the pitched roof of the tower and the other to the column of the baldachin; the curtain drawn to the left; the chancel screen of the presbytery; the arched opening in the left vertical side of the stairway leading to the Holy of Holies; and the step on which the main scene of the Presentation is enacted – although this last feature is much more schematic in Lambardos' icon. There are, of course, certain differences too, such as the shifting of the scene further back, but in general these can be considered insignificant (Iráklion 1993, pp.565–6).

Stylistically, however, the icon shown here clearly differs from that by Angelos, displaying characteristics encountered in other works by the two 16th- to 17th-century Cretan painters: clear outlines, even modelling of the flesh, geometric articulation of the drapery, slight disharmony in the bodily proportions (Athens 1984, no.24, p.37). The more animated poses of the central figures, the more vibrant colours, the more distinct outlines and the stronger contrast of light and shade in the architectural backdrop also differentiate the later work from the 15th-century icon (Iráklion 1993, no.213, p.566). It seems, however, that the two painters who sign as 'Emmanuel Lambardos' generally tended to resort to iconographic models of the 15th century (Athens 1984, no.24, p.37). This is deduced from the study of other works by them, such as the Lamentation, also in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, p.216; Kalafati 2004, fig.143).

In the case of the present icon, so great is the similarity in the iconography to the work by Angelos that it is believed that Emmanuel Lambardos was able to use a working drawing (*anthivolon*) which was produced from the icon by Angelos (Athens 1984, no.24, p.37). Emmanuel Lambardos based the iconography of his icon on this working drawing, but his treatment of the subject is consistent with his own personal painting style.

TERPSICHORI-PATRICIA SKOTTI



Emmanuel Tzanes

Christ Pantokrator Enthroned

1664

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

106 × 66 × 2.2 cm

Venice

Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum,

BXM 01810

Conservation: M. Philippou, Byzantine and Christian Museum laboratories 1993, 2001.

Literature: Lampakis 1892, p.66; Lampakis 1906, pp 70–71; Soteriou 1924, pp 91–2, pl.XXXa; Iráklion 1993, no.217, pp 570–71 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou); Acheimastou-Potamianou 1998b, no.73, pp 232–3.

THIS ICON IS one of a pair, with another of the same dimensions depicting the enthroned Virgin and Child and also kept at the Byzantine and Christian Museum (inv.no.BXM 01564). Both works entered the collection of the Christian Archaeological Society in 1890, as a gift of the National Technical University, and came into the possession of the Byzantine and Christian Museum after 1914. According to an inscription said to have been written on the back of the icons (Lambakis 1906, p.70; Soteriou 1924, pp 91–2), these were the despotic icons set on the iconostasis of the church of St Andrew in Athens, which used to be the katholikon of the convent of Hestia Philothei. It is possible that an icon with St John the Baptist, now in the church of St Catherine at Plaka, Athens, belonged to the same iconostasis (Drandakis 1962, p.123, pl.54a), as did an icon of St Andrew from the E. Stathatos Collection, now kept in the Gennadius Library, Athens (Xyngopoulos 1951, no.10, pp 12–13, pl.10; Iráklion 1993, p.570; Chalzikakis and Drakopoulou 1997, p.414, no.9).

Christ, in a frontal pose, blesses with his right hand and steadies with his left a Gospel book on his thigh, open at the Gospel according to Matthew (11:28): 'ΔΕΥΤΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΚΟΠΙΩΝΤΕΣ...' ('Come to me all you who labour ...'). He sits on a marble throne of Venetian type with semicircular back, the jambs of which are decorated with antefixes with floral finials. The symbols of the four Evangelists appear from above the antefixes as well as behind Christ's back. The signature is placed at bottom right: ΧΕΙΡ ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ | ΤΟΥ ΤΖΑΝΕ | ΑΧΕΑ' (Hand of Emmanuel Tzanes the Priest, 1664). A dedicatory inscription is written at bottom left: † ΔΕΗCΙC ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ

Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΛΟΥΠΟΥΝΑ (Prayer of the servant of God Michael Loupounas).

All four of these icons were painted when Tzanes was residing and working in Venice. Since Ioannes Soldakis, the donor of the aforementioned icon of St John the Baptist, was agent in Venice for the interests of the Athenian lady Diamanto Sigourou, widow of the 'most excellent' Angelos Benizelos, it can be surmised that the donors of the icon of the Virgin (Leonardos – his surname is illegible) and of St Andrew (Ioannes Philaras), as well as Michael Loupounas, all belonged to the same circle of Greeks who shifted between Athens and Venice. It is also known that Hestia Philothei, to whom was dedicated the convent for which the icons were intended, was a scion of the Benizelos family (Iráklion 1993, p.570). The iconography of the enthroned Christ Pantokrator in this panel by Emmanuel Tzanes copies an icon signed by Angelos, now in the Zakynthos Museum (cat.47). Dated to the second quarter of the 15th century, this work is of almost the same dimensions (105.5 by 59.95 cm) as Tzanes' icon. The iconographic differences between the two are minimal: the icon by Tzanes includes the symbols of the Evangelists as well as the cross-inscribed halo with punched decoration, which are missing from Angelos' icon. Tzanes elaborated his model on the basis of his own preference for decorativeness, voluminous figures and iconographic variety. He was able to enrich with more Italian iconographic elements the composition of the enthroned Christ Pantokrator in an icon kept in Arta, which bears his signature and the date 1678 (Papatheophanous-Tsouri 1981, fig.2).

NIKOS KASTRINAKIS



Domenikos Theotokopoulos (‘El Greco’)

The Dormition of the Virgin

c.1565–7

Egg tempera on wood,

primed with gesso on linen, gold leaf

62.5 x 52.5 cm

Candia, Crete

Syros, Ermoupolis, church of the Dormition of the Virgin

Literature: Mastoropoulos 1983b, p.53; Athens 1984, p.34 (M. Chatzidakis); London 1987, no.63, pp.133, 190–91 (G. Mastoropoulos); Iraklion 1990, no.1, pp.142–5 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou); Acheimastou-Potamianou 1995, pp.29–44; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1995, pp.100–103, figs.1–6; Fatourou-Hesychakis 1995, pp.45–68; Madrid–Rome–Athens 1999, no.1, pp.246, 357–8 (G. Mastoropoulos); Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1999, p.89; London 2003, no.1, pp.74–5 (G. Finaldi); Alvarez Lopera 2007, no.2, pp.17–18; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2008, pp.57–8, fig.3; New York 2009, no.41, pp.108–9 (P.K. Ioannou).

THE DORMITION OF the Virgin, which is described mainly in the apocryphal text entitled ‘Discourse of John the Theologian’, is a very important feast in Orthodox worship and a most popular subject in Byzantine and post-Byzantine painting. The present work carries the signature of the most important Greek painter of the 16th century: ΔΟΜΗΝΙΚΟΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ Ο ΔΕΙΞΑΣ (Domenikos Theotokopoulos is the creator (of this work)). He painted the icon in Candia (modern-day Iraklion), capital of Venetian-held Crete, shortly before his departure from the island, most probably in 1567 for Venice (Constantoudaki 1975, pp.292–308).

In this composite representation the funeral service of the Virgin is celebrated by hierarchs, apostles and angels. Christ bends over and receives his mother’s soul, symbolised by a swaddled infant, within a mandorla with angels. At the centre flies the dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit, radiating a golden light. Three bronze candlesticks, the middle one elaborately ornamented with three half-naked female figures, are in front of the bed of the Theotokos. On high, bathed in divine light and

in the midst of angels, the Mother of God ascends to the heavens, and hands over her girdle to the apostle Thomas. Depicted on either side, in smaller scale, are the apostles, arriving within clouds ‘from the ends of the earth’.

The discovery of this icon (Mastoropoulos 1983b, p.53) gave tangible documentation of the Cretan master’s accomplished handling of Byzantine technique. The icon is a key work for the young painter’s early inquiries.

The rendering of the subject – based on Late Byzantine schemes such as the representations in the Chora monastery at Constantinople, the Peribleptos church at Mystras, Palaiologan wall paintings in Crete (the painter’s birth-place), as well as Late Palaiologan icons (such as one in the monastery of the Annunciation, Patmos, and another in the Canellopoulos Museum, Athens (cat.7) – is encountered with variations also in 15th-century Cretan icons. Among the loveliest are the icon from the circle of Andreas Ritzos, in the Hellenic Institute in Venice, which includes the scene of the Assumption (Chatzidakis 1962, no.15, pl.14); the almost identical icon of the Dormition in the Benaki Museum (Iraklion 1990, pp.114–17 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou)); and the signed icon by Andreas Ritzos in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin (cat.50), with a somewhat different iconography, in which the Assumption is also illustrated (Velmans 2001, p.117, fig.20). Perhaps the conflation of the Assumption of the Theotokos with the handing over of her girdle to the Apostle Thomas is to reflect emphasis on the veneration of the Holy Girdle, which according to Orthodox tradition is in the possession of the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos.

Theotokopoulos, in the Syros icon, introduced discreet yet novel changes into an established composition. He endows the figure of the Virgin with new symbolisms. The crown on her head and the crescent moon at her feet are elements of western origin, the first alluding to the Coronation of the Virgin in heaven and the second to the Immaculate Conception (as well as to the woman in the text of the Apocalypse by St John). The two individual subjects – the Dormition and the Assumption – are linked within the effulgent mandorla with the angels and the radiant dove, which has doctrinal symbolism (Acheimastou-Potami-

anou 1995, pp.43–4).

The painter has structured the composition geometrically with the application of linear perspective (significant for Renaissance painters and art theorists). This can be detected in one more early work by Theotokopoulos, the Evangelist Luke Painting the Virgin, in the Benaki Museum (Iraklion 1990, pp.146–9; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 2002, pp.271–9).

Although executed in accordance with the technical principles of Palaiologan and early Cretan painting, it displays nonetheless a freer and more painterly style. Western influences are obvious in various places. The buildings have Renaissance details, the torsions in the seated Virgin recall the Mannerist *figura serpentinata*, as does the extravagant pose of the reclining angel at top left, which resembles an angel in an engraving by Giorgio Ghisi (Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1995, pp.101–2). The central candlestick, with the bare-breasted females, combines elements from prints by Marcantonio Raimondi and Enea Vico (Fatourou-Hesychakis, 1995, pp.47–51, figs.2–7; Constantoudaki-Kitromilides 1995, pp.102–3, figs.4–6). These three figures most probably symbolise the three theological virtues – Faith, Hope and Charity – extolled by the Apostle Paul and linked with the Virgin in western iconography.

Furthermore, the verb ‘*δείκνυμι*’ (to display, to create) in the painter’s signature echoes ancient concepts, as recorded by Strabo and Lucian (Gratziou 1995, pp.69–74), and proclaims at once consciousness of his artistic persona and humanist interests. After all, even in his Cretan period Theotokopoulos was aware of Renaissance treatises, while his notable library in Toledo included ancient Greek and Latin authors, philosophical and theological texts.

Consequently this icon, with its composite and refined iconography, blends elements of different traditions in a homogeneous manner, with the freedom and ability of a strong personality.

MARIA CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES



Glossary

Adelfotheos: literally the 'brother of God'; the epithet characterises St James the Just, Christ's stepbrother, according to one tradition, and first bishop of Jerusalem. Although the saint didn't follow Christ with the Apostles, he played a key role in the foundation of the First Christian Church.

Akathistos: hymn literally 'not-seated'; an anonymous hymn in honour of the Virgin sung while the congregation stands.

alla maniera greca/alla maniera latina or in forma greca/in forma latina: the art-historical term '*maniera*' is used to indicate a specific – personal or group – type or style, the artist's manner of working; *maniera greca* refers to the Byzantine style, *maniera Latina* to the style of western artists.

(Christ) Anapeson: literally 'the reclining one'. The image of Christ reclining and asleep, resting his head on his right hand and holding a scroll in his left; a prefiguration of the Passion of Christ.

Apocryphal texts/Apocrypha: religious works which follow the Old and New Testament format in their title, form and content but are not officially accepted in the biblical canon.

apse: the semicircular or polygonal termination to the east of a church housing the tripartite sanctuary.

bema: the sanctuary of the Orthodox church, accessible only to the clergy.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Blachernitissa: an image of the Virgin praying, hands outstretched and palms displayed. The original miraculous image existed in the monastery of Blachernai, Constantinople.

cherubic hymn: literally the hymn that the cherubim sing around the throne of God; important hymn that accompanies the processional transfer of the offerings during liturgy from the prothesis to the altar through the nave.

chiaroscuro: the sharp contrast between light and dark in painting, a distinctive feature of the Baroque.

chiton: adaptable tunic, variable in length and material, worn as an undergarment both by men and by women, the basic element of the Byzantine dress.

Christ Chalkites: literally 'of the Chalke Gate', the epithet refers to the legendary image of Christ, probably standing in full length on a footstool, decorating the facade of the main gateway (Chalke Gate) to the imperial palace. It later accompanied diverse representations of Christ. The original played a key role in the iconoclastic controversy: its removal by Emperor Leo III the Isaurian, in 726 or 730, marked the beginning of iconoclasm.

Christ the Vine: symbolic representation of the Church. It consists of a vine depicting Christ, the founder, at the roots and the Apostles at the branches.

chrysobull: imperial document bearing the emperor's signature verified by an attached gold seal (*bull*).

clavus: a vertical stripe, often gold, usually decorating the tunics of Christ and the apostles.

colophon: inscription found at the very end of a manuscript with information about its production (the name of the patron, date and place/location of production and, rarely, the name of the scribe).

contrapposto: literally 'to contrast', an Italian art-historical term describing the representation of the human body in which the forms are organised on a varying or curving axis to provide an asymmetrical balance to the figure. Classical contrapposto was revived in the Renaissance.

Council of Ferrara–Florence: the Council opened at Ferrara and transferred to Florence (1438–9) aimed at the Union of the Churches, the reunification of the churches of Rome and Byzantium following the breach of 1054. Ultimately the Council only widened the separation.

craquelure: a network, a fine pattern of cracks formed in old paintings by deterioration in the course of time.

crepidome: the platform on which a building stands.

Deesis: literally a prayer or petition/entreaty. The word is used to describe an image of intercession depicting the Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist standing on either side of Christ with their hands extended towards him. The three figures form the central part of Byzantine images of the Last Judgement. An extended version of the Deesis includes the Apostles and Saints.

deltos: a writing tablet.

despotic icon(s): icons that filled the space between the columns in the Byzantine templon, traditionally depicting Christ, the Virgin and the patron saint of the church.

deacon: the lowest rank of clergy, an assistant of a bishop.

diakonikon: the space in the church, often a chapel, to the right of the sanctuary, used as sacristy mainly by the deacons.

diptych: work of art made of two panels joined laterally to one another by means of hinges.

Dodekaorton: literally 'twelve feasts', the Great Feasts of the Byzantine Church distinguished from the rest on the basis of the special liturgical practices surrounding their celebration. The illustrated Dodekaorton cycles from the eleventh

century onwards include the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Baptism, the Presentation in the Temple, the Raising of Lazarus, the Transfiguration, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, the Pentecost and the Dormition of the Virgin.

dosseret: a block above the capital, usually wider than its uppermost surface (abacus), used mainly in Byzantine and Romanesque architecture to carry the arches and the vault.

dottori ecclesiae: doctors of the Church; honorary title accorded to specific saints of the Church on account of the great advantage the whole church had derived from their doctrine and oeuvre.

ecclesiarch: an official of the Eastern Church; the sacristan especially of a monastery.

Ecumenical Patriarchate: a term introduced in the sixth century as a courtesy title for the seat of the archbishops of Constantinople, denoting their superiority.

Eisodia: literally 'entrance', the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, one of five Marian Great Feasts, celebrated on 21 November. The standard compositions include a procession of the Virgin's parents and maidens, the priest, and the Virgin seated in the sanctuary receiving bread from an angel.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Eleousa: literally 'compassionate'; the image depicts the Virgin as a tender mother bending her head to touch the cheek of the Christ Child, underlining the mother's love for her son both as a child and in death.

encheirion: another word for the peplos.

epigonation: a stiff richly embroidered piece of cloth that hung from the girdle to the knee, traditionally worn as a vestment by a bishop over his sticharion.

epistyle: beam at the uppermost part of the Byzantine templon decorated with figures of Christ and of the saints from the sixth century onwards.

eschatological: concerned with the end of the world or of humankind.

esonarthex: literally 'inner narthex', the space between the outer porch and the body of the church.

Etoimasia or Hetoimasia: the empty throne prepared in readiness for Christ's Second Coming and the Last Judgement.

Eucharist/eucharistic: literally 'thanksgiving', the Divine Liturgy, the principal Christian liturgical service in Byzantium where bread and wine are offered as Jesus' body and blood in memory of the Last Supper.

exonarthex: literally 'outer narthex', the space preceding the transverse vestibule at the west side of the Byzantine church.

figura serpentinata: a figure in spiral pose, typical of Manneristic painting.

fleur-de-lis: in French, 'flower of lily'; a stylised lily or iris used as a decorative design or symbol, which became popular in Byzantine art during and after the Crusader period.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Galaktotrophousa: literally 'nursing with milk', epithet applied to the image of the Virgin breast-feeding the Christ Child, emphasising in a playful way mutual tenderness and the motherly quality in the Virgin.

genouillère: piece of stiff cloth or metal that covers and protects the knee, usually part of an armour.

gesso: material used as a coat for egg tempera in Byzantine painting. It consists of calcium carbonate, gypsum or chalk, in powder form bound with size or glue.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Glykophilousa: literally 'sweet-kissing', the term Glykophilousa was applied to the Eleousa image in post-Byzantine times.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Gorgoepekoos: literally 'swift-hearing', epithet applied to the image of the Eleousa emphasising her readiness to respond to prayers of the faithful.

grisaille: the use of only one colour, usually grey, and its related tones in order to produce a sculptural effect in painting.

hagiasma: a miraculous holy-water spring usually architecturally elaborated and housed inside a shrine church.

(Christ) Helkomenos: the Road to Cavalry; the image shows Christ being dragged to the cross, emphasising Christ's Passion.

Hermeneia by Dionysios of Fournà: a painter's manual (model book), very popular in post-Byzantine painting, written at Mount Athos by the monk Dionysios of Fournà (c.1730–35).

Hesychasm: contemplative practice, exercised mainly by Byzantine monks in order to attain union with God through a specific method of prayer and inner peace. In the 14th century it developed into a sociopolitical movement that also affected Byzantine art.

hierodeacon: the first in rank among deacons.

himation: long loose outer garment borrowed from antiquity.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Hodegetria: literally the 'guide', an image of the Virgin holding the Christ Child on her left hand, pointing to him as the way to salvation. One of the most celebrated Byzantine icons, the palladium of Constantinople was kept in the Hodegon monastery and was largely copied in Byzantine and post-Byzantine times. The original image was believed to have been painted by St Luke the Evangelist.

hymnographer: the composer of religious hymns, poems sung in Byzantine sacred services.

Hypapante: literally 'meeting', the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple forty days after his birth, one of the Great Byzantine feasts, celebrated on 2 February; Symeon and Anna are depicted standing next to the sanctuary welcoming the Virgin with Child and Joseph.

hypostates: supporting base or stand, usually in the form of a long pole/pillar.

iconoclasm: literally the breaking of icons. The term refers to the period from c.730 to 787 and again from 815 to 843 when figurative art was banned from churches, the sanctity of icons was questioned and their veneration officially outlawed.

iconophile: the supporter of the veneration of images, an opponent to iconoclasm.

iconostasis: literally 'stand for icons', a high screen with doors and inset panels that separates the sanctuary from the nave in the Byzantine church, blocking the view to the altar.

imago clipeata: literally a framed portrait; usually refers to images of Roman heroes in shields. In late Roman and Byzantine art, it signified apotheosis.

incunabulum: any book printed prior to 1500.

katholikon: the main church of a monastic complex, usually dedicated to the patron saint of the foundation.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Kardiotissa (or Engardiotissa): literally 'with the warm heart', the image is a Cretan variation of the Eleousa type in which the Christ Child stretches out both arms to embrace his mother.

kekryphalos: wimple worn usually under the veil, traditionally characterises representations of the Virgin.

Koimesis: literally 'falling asleep', the death of the Virgin (Dormition) celebrated on 15 August as one of the Byzantine Great Feasts. The basic iconography includes the Virgin depicted lying on a richly decorated deathbed, with Christ behind holding her soul and the Apostles grouped symmetrically around them.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Kyriotissa: variation of the Nikopoios type without the medallion. The name derives from the monastery 'tou Kyrou' in Constantinople.

lectionary: a liturgical book containing a compendium of texts read at services arranged according to the Church calendar.

logothetes: literally the keeper of records, an administrator; class of high officials in the Byzantine court charged usually with fiscal duties.

loros: a long jewelled scarf worn by the emperors and, rarely, by high-ranking dignitaries on special occasions. Archangels attending Christ are often represented wearing it.

Madre della Consolazione: western type of the Virgin and Child emphasising the Passion of Christ. The Virgin is depicted bust-length, with young Christ in her left arm holding a golden globe or scroll and blessing.

mandorla: a pointed and generally almond-shaped aureole surrounding usually the figure of Christ, indicative of God's power.

maphorion: a long veil usually covering the head and shoulders, traditional attire of the Virgin.

Meditationes Vitae Christi: Meditations on the Life of Christ; a devotional Life of Christ originally written in Latin around 1300, extremely popular throughout medieval Europe.

menaion: a set of 12 liturgical books, one for each month, containing chants (hymns) and texts for the morning and the evening services.

metochion: a dependency, a religious establishment, usually monastic, subordinate to a larger monastery.

monochromy: the use of only one colour, usually grey, and its related tones in order to produce a sculptural effect in painting.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Nikopoios: literally 'bringer of victory', an image of the Virgin in which features a frontal bust of Mary holding in a medallion directly before her an equally frontal image of Christ.

nimbus: halo.

Noli me Tangere: literally 'do not touch me', the Latin term used in western art to describe the scene of the appearance of Christ to the myrrh-bearing women after his Resurrection.

omophorion: long ceremonial white scarf worn by bishops and decorated with crosses.

orthros: Byzantine matins, a daybreak service to consecrate the day to God; one of the principal and original hours of the cathedral and monastic offices.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Pafsolyte: literally 'cease sorrow', the epithet accompanies, very rarely, images of the Virgin with Christ Child of the so-called Kardiotissa type. Originally it referred to an icon of the Mother of God housed in the Constantinopolitan convent of the Pafsolyte.

pala d'altare: altarpiece; panel(s) or relief(s) placed close to the altar.

palladium: literally the wooden colossal statue of Pallas Athena; any image upon which the safety of a city is seen to depend.

Panagia: literally the 'all holy', the mother of Jesus Christ.

panagiaron: small liturgical paten decorated with a representation of the Virgin; from the 15th century onwards the term refers also to a pendant decorated with the image of the Virgin and worn by high church officials or, mainly, to a wooden circular container consisting of two curved wooden parts decorated with the image of the

Virgin and held together to keep her portion of the offering bread.

Pantokrator: literally 'all-sovereign'; epithet mainly of God, applied also to the individual persons of the Trinity, and designating the most popular type of Christ image – bearded, represented frontally, blessing with his right hand and holding the Gospel book in his left. A bust of Christ in this type traditionally decorates the dome of the Byzantine church.

parekklesion: a subsidiary chapel usually attached to a pre-existing church or installed on the upper floor, fulfilling a mainly funerary function.

(Virgin/Theotokos) Pelagonitissa: a late-Byzantine variant of the Eleousa type, the image, named after a famous lost original in Pelagonia, close to Kastoria, Greece, depicts the Christ Child almost from behind, throwing his head back and stretching to touch his mother's cheek with his hand.

Pentekostarion: liturgical book containing the hymns destined for the 50-day period from Easter to Whit Sunday inclusive.

pentimenti: alternations in painting usually using free brushstroke corrections; underlying, usually earlier, images in a painting.

peplos: loose long veil worn by women and falling in folds normally from the head to the level of the shoulders; luxurious fabrics used to cover usually miraculous icons.

phelonion: outer voluminous cape-like garment worn by priests and bishops.

phiale: the fountain, usually in the form of an open bowl, in the open court of a church intended for the ablutions of the participants in the liturgy or the blessing of the waters for the ritual of the Epiphany.

Pietà: the Western equivalent of the Byzantine Lamentation; iconography in which the Virgin cradles the lifeless body of Christ after his Passion. St John the Baptist might also be included in the scene.

podea: decorated fabric usually covering the lower part of an icon-stand suspending underneath the icon.

polyptych: folding panels hinged together; also refers to non-folding monumental altarpieces consisting of several panels mounted together.

predella: the horizontal band, usually painted or sculptured, at the bottom of or surrounding a central image.

presbytery: sanctuary.

proskynesis: a gesture of supplication or reverence; the prostration before and the veneration of Christ, icons or the emperor.

Protevangelion of James: conventional title of a Christian apocryphal text of the end of the second century including the Virgin's biography.

prothesis: the space in the church, often a chapel, left of the sanctuary where the offerings (bread and

wine) are prepared by the priest during Mass for the holy communion; the presentation and preparation of the offerings; the table used for the ritual.

protopapas: literally 'first priest'. The *protopapas* held the highest position in the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy in Venetian-ruled Crete, replacing the abolished by the Venetians offices of the Orthodox archbishop and bishop.

protopsaltes: literally 'first cantor'. The *protopsaltes* was appointed by the Venetian authorities and paid from the public purse. They held a high position in the Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy in Venetian-ruled Crete.

pseudo-Kufic: decorative imitations of Arabic or Kufic script, usually unreadable as genuine text, that became popular in Byzantium from the tenth century onwards.

quattrocento: literally four hundred; a term used to describe early-Renaissance Italian art, i.e. the art produced in 15th-century Italy.

repoussé: a metalwork technique in which relief is produced by hammering from behind.

rinceau: decorative border or strip of stylised recurring floral motifs usually in the form of a vine scroll.

sakkos: a sackcloth (tunic) originally worn as a symbol of asceticism, developed later into a T-shaped highly embroidered garment with slit neck and broad sleeves worn by bishops and emperors.

scriptorium: an organised workshop that produces manuscripts usually housed in renowned Byzantine monasteries.

sigla: scribal abbreviations used by ancient and medieval scribes.

soteriological: concerned with the salvation of humankind.

sticharion: a long tunic with sleeves worn by deacons and higher priests.

sticherarion: a liturgical manuscript with musical notation containing the *stichera*.

sticheron: rhythmical extracts from the holy scriptures sung in the morning and evening services after the verse of a psalm or in between them.

stylistic koine: usually the term koine refers to the common Greek language of the Hellenistic states; stylistic koine refers to the common (shared) style characterising the artistic production of a period.

stylobate: the immediate foundation of a row of classical columns, the topmost step of the crepidome.

synaxarion: church calendar with readings for fixed feast days; also a collection of brief hagiological texts.

Synaxis: literally 'assembly', especially a monastic or liturgical gathering; the assembly for the Divine Liturgy or for a special commemorative service celebrated the day following the Great Feasts.

Synodikon of Orthodoxy: liturgical document produced after the Triumph of Orthodoxy (843) and before 920 with thanksgivings and praise for those who fought for the icons and negative references to those who fought against them. The document was read in church on the Sunday (the feast day) of Orthodoxy.

templon: a wooden or masonry screen separating the sanctuary from the nave in the Byzantine church.

teseniasmata/skiasmata/anthivola/disegni/
cartoons: working drawings used for the reproduction of icons.

Theophany: the manifestation of God; also refers to the celebration of the Baptism of Christ when the three persons of the Trinity were revealed to man.

Theotokos: literally 'God-bearing'; the Mother of God, the main epithet/appellation of the Virgin in Byzantium.

tondo: a circular icon; the type, which is rooted in the classical medallion, appeared for the first time in Florentine painting of the 15th century.

topos: literally a place, a commonplace; a traditional theme or motif especially in a literary work.

Tree of Jesse: a metaphorical image of Christ's genealogy. It consists of a tree springing from the loins of Jesse, the father of the Prophet David, with the Virgin Mary on its stem, Christ at its crown and Joseph, among other biblical characters, on the branches.

trilobe: with three ends, word used to describe architectural members.

Trimorph: literally 'three figures'; another word for the Deesis.

Triodion: literally 'three odes'; liturgical, initially monastic, hymn-book containing parts of the services for the Triodion, i.e. the mobile Lenten and Easter period (from the tenth Sunday before Easter through Holy Saturday) with hymns consisting of three odes.

triptych: work of art made of three panels joined laterally to one another by means of hinges.

Triumph of Orthodoxy: the official defeat of iconoclasm on 11 March 843, celebrated since on the first Sunday of Lent as a feast.

troparion: the earliest and most basic form of Byzantine hymn especially connected with a particular Orthodox feast.

vexillum: a flag-like standard, a banner consisting of cloth draped from a horizontal crossbar suspended from a staff. Originally used by the Romans, it appears in many Christian images, mainly of the later periods.

Virgin tes Batou: literally 'of the Burning Bush'. An image of the Virgin shown in prayer within the Bush or standing in front of it holding Christ before her chest, directly associated with the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, the alleged site of the Burning Bush.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών	BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift	JKSW	Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien
ABME	Αρχαίον των Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος	CIEB	Congrès International d'Études Byzantines	JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
AD	Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον	DChAE	Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας	JWalt	Journal of the Walters Art Gallery
ArtB	Art Bulletin	ΔIEF	Δελτίον της Ιστορικής Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος	KretChron	Κρητικά Χρονικά
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Venezia	DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers	LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie
BMCS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies	EEBS	Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών	ΠΑΕ	Πρακτικά της έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
BNJ	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher	EKKM	Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών	PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca
BSI	Byzantinoslavica	ΕΕΦΣΠΑ	Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών	RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst
BullAMNAO	Bulletin Annuel du Musée National d'Art Occidental	IAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum	REB	Revue des études byzantines
BurlMag	Burlington Magazine			SemKond	Seminarium Kondakovianum
Byzantion	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines			XAE	Χριστιανική Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία
ByzF	Byzantinische Forschungen				

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Index

Note: Page numbers in *italics* are for illustrations; page numbers in **bold** are for major references

A

- Akotantos, Angelos *see* Angelos
 Akotantos, Ioannis (brother of Angelos)
 as beneficiary of Angelos's will 106,
 107, 111, 112
 as painter 34, 108, 117
 sale of drawings to Andreas Ritzos
 124, 194
alla maniera greca / alla maniera latina
 26, 63, 214, 216, 218
 Angelos
 family provisions in his will 107–108
 as first cantor (*protopsaltes*) 107, 109,
 154, 156, 162
 influence of Constantinopolitan
 painters on 65
 legacy and influence of 124–132
 pro-unionist sympathies of 154
 signature of 104, 114, 115–117, 119,
 132, 182
 visit to Constantinople 33, 104, 153
 will of 33, 104–110, 153, 156, 161
 English translation 111–113
 text of 105, 106
 works of
 Christ Enthroned 124, 131, 151, **196**,
 197, 198, 228
 Christ Man of Sorrows with the Virgin
 and John the Evangelist 148, **200**,
 201
 Christ the Vine (Crete, Hodegetria
 monastery) 128, 160, **161**
 Christ the Vine (Ierapetra, parish
 church at Malles) 128, 158, **159**
 Christ the Vine (Valsamonero
 monastery) 128, **162**, 163

- The Deesis* (Agia Moni Viannou)
 122, 124, 159, 174, 175, **194**, 195,
 208
The Deesis (Canellopoulos Museum)
 122, 125, **174**, 175, 194, 196, 216
The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and
Paul 152, **153**, 154, 162
The Presentation of the Virgin in the
Temple 117, 119–122, 127, 132,
 164, **166**, 167, 191, 226
Prophet Elijah 128, **184**, 185, 186,
 189, 194
St George on Horseback Slaying the
Dragon 130, 148, **176**, 177
St John the Theologian and Prochoros
 117, 148, **182**, 183, 186, 224
St Nicholas and Scenes from his Life
 125, 130, 131, **198**, 199
St Phanourios (Pholegandros) 27,
 136, **140**, 141, 148
St Phanourios (Patmos) 119, 127,
 136, 137, 139, 140, 148, 169
St Phanourios and St Phanourios with
Scenes from his Vita (two-sided
 icon) 136, 140, 142, **144–145**, 145,
 148, 159
St Theodore Teron Slaying the Dragon
 92, 127, 131, 148, 168, **169**
The Virgin with Christ and St
Catherine 114, 119, 124, 127, 148,
 172, 173
The Virgin of Tenderness (Kardiotissa)
 71, 131, **164**, 165, 189, 191
Winged St John the Baptist in the
Desert 178, 179
 Angelos (attrib.)
 The Appearance of Christ to the Myrrh-
 Bearing Women and the Miracle of St
 Phanourios 94, 136, **142**, 143, 144
The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and

- Paul* (tondo icon, Krimbas
 Collection) 154, **156**, 157
The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and
Paul (tondo icon, Patmos, Holy
 Monastery of St John the Theologian)
 119, **154**, 155
Nativity (Byzantine and Christian
 Museum, Athens) 96, **180**, 181
Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple
 118
St Anne with the Virgin 131, 190, **191**
St Catherine (tondo icon) 114, 115
St John the Theologian 125, **186**, 187
St Phanourios (Crete, Hodegetria
 monastery) 138, **139**, 140
St Phanourios (private collection) **148**,
 149, 151
St Phanourios Enthroned 136, **146**, 147
The Virgin Life-Receiving Spring
(Zoodochos Pege) (Crete, Hodegetria
 monastery) 124, 170, 171
Virgin of Tenderness: 'The Engardyotisa'
 184, 186, 188, **189**
 Angelos (attrib. to circle of), *St*
Demetrios 148, 150, **151**
 Annunciation, sanctuary doors with
 (Vatopedi monastery) 56, 57
 Anthimos 162
anthivola see drawings
 Apokafkos, Alexios 58–59
 Apokafkos, Angelos 58, 59, 87
The Appearance of Christ to the Myrrh-
Bearing Women and the Miracle of St
Phanourios (attrib. to Angelos) 94,
 136, **142**, 143, 144
 apprenticeships, artists' 34
 archives *see* notarial documents; wills
 Argyropoulos, Ioannis-John 21, 25, 35
 aristocrats (*archontes*) 21–22, 23
The Ascension, the Preparation of the

Throne, the Hospitality of Abraham and Saints (Andreas Ritzos) 124–125, 205, 206, 207, 210

B

Bessarion, Cardinal 98, 100
Bitzamanos, Angelos 125, 214
Brunelleschi, Filippo 220
Byzantium 16–17, 17map
Byzantine influences in Crete 26, 34–35, 36
see also alla maniera greca

C

Candia (Chandax) 27, 38–46, 40map
Constantinopolitan artists in 58–65, 87, 92, 96, 115, 182
harbour c.1677 42
Jews in 35
strategic importance of 45–46
trade and economy of 39, 39map, 41–45
Venetian occupation of Crete 26–27, 30map, 36, 38, 43, 45–46
wealth, status and sumptuary laws 45–46
cantors 34–35
Angelos as 107, 109, 154, 156, 162
Chandax *see* Candia
cheese trade 41
Christ Enthroned (Angelos) 124, 131, 151, 196, 197, 198, 228
Christ Man of Sorrows with the Virgin and John the Evangelist (Angelos) 148, 200, 201
Christ Pantokrator (Andrea Ritzos) 124, 196, 208, 209
Christ Pantokrator (Constantinopolitan painter (?) or Angelos (?)) 125, 192, 193, 212

Christ Pantokrator (Pavias) 125, 212, 213
Christ Pantokrator Enthroned (Tzanes) 131, 228, 229
Christ the Vine (Angelos) (Crete, Hodegetria monastery) 128, 160, 161
Christ the Vine (Angelos) (Ierapetra, parish church at Malles) 128, 158, 159
Christ the Vine (Angelos) (Valsamonero monastery) 128, 162, 163
Chrysoloras, Manuel 68
church union 22–23
Cretan opposition to 27, 36
pro-unionism 100, 153, 154, 161, 162
see also Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul; Ferrara–Florence, Council of
Constantinople
Angelos Akotantos' journey to 33, 104, 153
before 1453 17–25, 19map
Constantinopolitan immigrants in Crete 34–36
Cretan artists and traders in 31–33, 44
Ottoman threat to 18–19, 24, 154
and Ottomans after 1453 23
Council of Ferrara–Florence *see* church union; Ferrara–Florence, Council of
Crete 26–36
Byzantine influences in 26, 34–35, 36
Constantinopolitan immigrants in 34–36
Cretan artist and traders in Constantinople 32–33, 44
Cretan artists in Venice 32–33, 228
Cretan traders and immigrants in Venice 31–33, 44
insurrection against Venice 27, 36
Ottoman threat to 36
trade networks 27, 29–32, 39map, 41–45

Venetian occupation of 26–27, 30map, 36
Crispo family 184, 189
The Crucifixion (icon, Stockholm) 63, 90, 91
The Crucifixion (icon, Patmos) 80, 81
Crucifixion (icon, Monemvasia) 48–50, 49
Crucifixion with Four Prophets and Mother of God Pafsolype with Ten Feast Scenes (two-sided icon) 48, 71, 72–73

D

Damaskenos, Michael 129, 130, 132, 198
The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple 129–130, 222, 223
The Deesis (Angelos) (Agia Moni Viannou) 122, 124, 159, 174, 175, 194, 195, 208
The Deesis (Angelos) (Canellopoulos Museum) 122, 125, 174, 175, 194, 196, 216
The Deesis (Tzafouris) 87, 125, 216, 217
The Deesis (Crete, Hodegetria monastery) 64, 86, 87
Deesis, Christological scenes and Saints (Nikolaos Ritzos) 71, 83, 125, 126, 210, 216, 220
Digenis, Xenos 126
Dionysios, St 68, 70, 70
Dionysios the Areopagite (Pseudo-Dionysios), complete works 68–70
disegni see drawings
donors 184, 228
The Dormition of the Virgin (Andreas Ritzos) 202, 203, 204, 210, 230
The Dormition of the Virgin (Theotokopoulos) 130, 230, 231

The Dormition of the Virgin with Scenes from her Life and Saints 82, 83
drawings (*anthivola*) 124, 130, 156, 174, 210
belonging to Angelos 117, 161, 202

E
ecclesiastical chants 34–35
economy *see* trade
Egypt, trade with Crete and West 31, 43
Eisodia (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple) 222
'El Greco' *see* Theotokopoulos, Domenikos
Eleousa type of the Virgin 164
The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul (Angelos) 152, 153, 154, 162
The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul (attrib. to Angelos) (tondo icon, Krimbas Collection) 154, 156, 157
The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul (attrib. to Angelos) (tondo icon, Patmos) 119, 154, 155
Emperor Manuel II and family and St Dionysios (in complete works of Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite) 68, 69, 70, 70
The Entry into Jerusalem, wall painting (Mystras, Pantanassa 1428/9) 24
Euphrosynos, *Christ Pantokrator* 128, 129
The Evangelist Luke Painting the Icon of the Virgin Hodegetria (icon, Recklinghausen, Icon Museum) 63, 88, 89, 91

F
Ferrara–Florence, Council of 22, 153, 154, 156, 161, 220
see also church union

G
Genoese state 16, 17, 18
George, St 92, 93, 136, 140, 144, 176, 177, 198
Glykophilousa type of the Virgin 164, 188, 189
grain trade 41
Greek Church *see* church union; Orthodox Christianity
Greek language 16, 216

H
Hetoimasia 205, 206, 207
Hodegetria type of the Virgin 74, 75, 76, 77, 88, 191
Hosios Christodoulos icon (Patmos) 119, 119
Hypapante (Presentation of Christ in the Temple) 222

I
icons, two-sided *see* two-sided icons
illuminations *see* manuscripts and miniatures
in forma greca / in forma latina 26, 28, 29, 63, 214, 216, 218
Italian city states 16, 17, 20, 21, 24, 100
Italian–Byzantine art, cross-cultural influences
in Angelos's work 162, 176, 178, 200
in anonymous works 98, 100
and apprenticeships 34
in Damaskenos's work 222
Nikolaos Ritzos's work 220
in Theotokopoulos's work 230
in Tzafouris's work 218
in work attributed to Angelos 142, 150, 154, 171
see also alla maniera greca / alla maniera latina

J
Jews, in Crete 35, 38

K
Kallergis family 180
Kallergis, Nikolaos 131
Kardiotissa type of the Virgin 164, 165, 189
Klontzas, Georgios 129, 198
Kyriotissa type 127, 127, 172

L
Lambardos, Emmanuel
The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple 130, 226, 227
St John the Theologian and his Disciple Prochoros in the Cave on Patmos 130, 224, 225
Laskaris, Ioannis 34–35
Latin Church 38
see also church union; Orthodox Christianity

M
Madre della Consolazione (icon *in forma Latina*) (15th century) 29
Manuel II Palaiologos, emperor 18, 22, 68, 69
manuscripts and miniatures 54–55, 84
Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, complete works 68, 69, 70, 70
St John the Theologian and his disciple Prochoros (W.335) 63, 115, 116, 182
Sticherarion (Plousiadenos) 125–126, 191, 210, 220
Vision of the Apocalypse (W.335) 62, 63
Maras, Gregorios, will of 172
maritime trade networks 27, 29–32, 39map, 41–45
Massacre of the Innocents, wall painting

(Patmos, monastery of St John the Theologian) 122, 123
 Moschos, Ilias 131
Mother of God Pafsolype with Ten Feast Scenes and Crucifixion with Four Prophets (two-sided icon) 48, 71, 72–73
 musical traditions, Byzantine 34–35

N

Nativity (attrib. to Angelos) (Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum) 96, 180, 181
Nativity (Volpi Nativity) 78, 79, 91, 96
Nativity, wall painting (Patmos, monastery of St John the Theologian) 122, 122
The Nativity of Christ (Venice, Hellenic Institute) 96, 97
 naval defence systems 45
 Notaras family 21, 23
 notarial documents 27, 30, 31–36, 41
see also wills

O

Orthodox Christianity 26, 32, 38
see also church union
 Ottomans 16, 17, 18–19
 in Constantinople after 1453 23
 threat to Constantinople 18–19, 24, 154
 threat to Crete 36
 Turkish-Venetian war 1669 140

P

painting styles *see alla maniera greca / alla maniera latina*
 Palaioikappas, Constantinos 130
 Palaiologan Empire 16
 Palaiologos, Demetrios, will of 35–36
 Palaiologos, Manuel II, emperor 18, 22,

68, 69
 Palamas, Gregory 162
 Palamas, Ionas 109, 114, 117, 144, 146, 148, 169
Parable of the Ten Wise Virgins (detail) (wall painting, Patmos, monastery of St John the Theologian) 119, 121
 Patmos, monastery of St John the Theologian, wall paintings 117, 119–123
 patronage 117, 180, 184, 228
 Pavias, Andreas 91, 132, 180
Christ Pantokrator 125, 212, 213
St Anthony 125, 214, 215
 Pelagonitissa type of the Virgin 164
 Phanourios, St 114, 117, 136, 169
 cult of 136, 139, 140, 142, 144–145, 146, 148
 Philanthropenos, Nikolaos 32–33, 58, 59, 61
 Philomatis family 31–32
 Plousiadenos, Ioannis, *Sticherarion* 125–126, 191, 210, 220
 'Poganovo' two-sided icon (*The Virgin and St John Theologian* and *The Vision of the Latomou monastery*) 50, 51
 Polychronios, Michael 146
 polyptychs
 first half of 15th century 60–61
 six of eight small panels from a polyptych 63–64, 64
The Prayer in Gethsemane (icon, Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale) 84, 85
The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Angelos) 117, 119–122, 127, 132, 164, 166, 167, 191, 226
Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (attrib. to Angelos) 118
The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (Lambardos) 130, 226, 227

The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Damaskenos) 129–130, 222, 223
 pro-unionism 100, 153, 154, 162, 220
see also church union
Prophet Elijah (Angelos) 128, 184, 185, 186, 189, 194
 Pseudo-Dionysios (Dionysios the Areopagite), complete works 68–70

R

Ritzos, Andreas 117, 124–125, 194, 210
The Ascension, the Preparation of the Throne, the Hospitality of Abraham and Saints 124–125, 205, 206, 207, 210
Christ Pantokrator 124, 196, 208, 209
The Dormition of the Virgin 202, 203, 204, 210, 230
 Ritzos, Andreas (attrib.), tripartite icon 125, 125
 Ritzos, Andreas (attrib. to or to his circle), *The Virgin and Child with Angels, Saints and Christological Scenes* 210, 211
 Ritzos, Nikolaos 205, 210
Deesis, Christological scenes and Saints 71, 83, 125, 126, 210, 216, 220
 Ritzos, Nikolaos (attrib.) 207
Saints Peter and Paul Holding the Model of a Church 156, 220, 221
The Road to Calvary (Christ Helkomenos) (Tzafouris) 218, 219
 Roman Church *see* church union;
 Orthodox Christianity
 Russia, Byzantine artists in 52, 55

S

St Anne with the Virgin (attrib. to Angelos) 131, 190, 191

St Anthony (Pavias) 125, 214, 215
St Catherine (attrib. to Angelos) (tondo icon) 114, 115
St Daniel the Stylite, wall painting (Patmos, monastery of St John the Theologian) 119, 120
St Demetrios (attrib. to circle of Angelos) 148, 150, 151
St George and St Merkourios (Athens, M. Latsis' collection) 63, 91, 92, 93, 115, 127, 136
St George on Horseback Slaying the Dragon (Angelos) 130, 148, 176, 177
St Jerome Extracting a Thorn from a Lion's Paw (London, British Museum) 98, 99, 100
St John the Theologian (attrib. to Angelos) 125, 186, 187
St John the Theologian and his Disciple Prochoros (miniature) (W.335) 63, 115, 116, 182
St John the Theologian and his Disciple Prochoros in the Cave on Patmos (Lambardos) 130, 224, 225
St John the Theologian and Prochoros (Angelos) 117, 148, 182, 183, 186, 224
St Merkourios, wall painting (Theophanes) 127, 128
St Nicholas (Tzanes) 130, 131
St Nicholas and Scenes from his Life (Angelos) 125, 130, 131, 198, 199
St Phanourios (Angelos) (Pholegandros) 27, 136, 140, 141, 148
St Phanourios (Angelos) (Patmos) 119, 127, 136, 137, 139, 140, 148, 169
St Phanourios (attrib. to Angelos) (Crete, Hodegetria monastery) 138, 139, 140
St Phanourios (attrib. to Angelos) (private collection) 148, 149, 151

St Phanourios Enthroned (attrib. to Angelos) 136, 146, 147
St Phanourios and St Phanourios with Scenes from his Vita (Angelos) (two-sided icon) 136, 140, 142, 144–145, 145, 148, 159
St Theodore Teron Slaying the Dragon (Angelos) 92, 127, 131, 148, 168, 169
Saints Augustine, Jerome and Benedict (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) 100, 101
Saints Peter and Paul Holding the Model of a Church (attrib. to Nikolaos Ritzos) 156, 220, 221
 sanctuary doors with the Annunciation (Mount Athos, Vatopedi monastery) 56, 57
 signatures
 of Andreas Ritzos 205, 210
 of Angelos 104, 114, 115–117, 119, 182
 forgeries 169
 of painters, by Christian name 129
 slave trade 31–32, 44
The Souls of the Righteous in the Hand of God (Athens, M. Latsis' collection) 63, 91, 94, 95
 Sphrantzes 23–24
Sticherarion (Plousiadenos) 125–126, 191, 210, 220

T

Theophanes 94, 127–128, 129
 wall painting with *St Merkourios* 127, 128
 wall painting with the *Virgin Kyriotissa* 127, 127
 Theophanes the Greek 52–54, 55, 71
 Virgin of the Don (detail from two-sided icon) 53
 Theotokopoulos, Domenikos ('El

Greco') 129, 132

The Dormition of the Virgin 130, 230, 231

Tomb G, wall painting with deceased woman before enthroned Virgin and Child 51, 52

tondo icons 153, 154

The Embrace of the Apostles Peter and Paul (attrib. to Angelos) 154, 156, 157

St Catherine (attrib. to Angelos) 114, 115

trade 16–17, 20–21, 23

Cretan networks of 27, 29–32, 39map, 41–45

tripartite icon (attrib. to Andreas Ritzos) 125, 125

The Triumph of Orthodoxy (London, British Museum) 48, 57, 63, 76, 77

Turkish empire *see* Ottomans

two-sided icons

Mother of God Pafsolype with Ten Feast Scenes and Crucifixion with Four Prophets (early 14th century, third quarter of 14th century) 48, 71, 72–73

'Poganovo' icon: *The Virgin and St John the Theologian* and *The Vision of the Latomou monastery* 50, 51

St Phanourios and St Phanourios with Scenes from his Vita (Angelos) 136, 140, 142, 144–145, 145, 148, 159

Virgin of the Don (details) (Theophanes the Greek) 53

Tzafouris, Nikolaos

The Deesis 87, 125, 216, 217

The Road to Calvary (Christ Helkomenos) 218, 219

Tzanes, Emmanuel 131

Christ Pantokrator Enthroned 131,

228, 229
St Nicholas 130, 131
Tzangaropoulos, Zacharias 130

U
union *see* church union

V
Vatopedi monastery, Sanctuary doors
with the Annunciation 56, 57
Venetian art 98, 200, 222
*see also alla maniera greca / alla
maniera latina*
Venice 16, 17, 20, 21
Cretan artists in 32–33, 228
Cretan traders and immigrants in 31–
32, 44
naval defence systems 45
occupation of Crete 26–27, 30map, 36,
38, 43, 45–46
Victor 130–131, 191
*The Virgin and Child with Angels, Saints
and Christological Scenes* (attrib. to
Ritzos or to his circle) 210, 211
Virgin and Christ Child (icon in *forma
greca*) 28
*The Virgin and St John the Theologian
and The Vision of the Latomou
monastery* ('Poganovo' two-sided icon)
50, 51
The Virgin Hodegetria (Crete, Meronas
Amari) 74, 75
Virgin Kyriotissa, wall painting
(Theophanes) 127, 127
The Virgin Life-Receiving Spring
(Zoodochos Pege) (attrib. to Angelos)
124, 170, 171
Virgin of Tenderness: 'The Engardytisa'
(attrib. to Angelos) 184, 186, 188, 189
The Virgin of Tenderness (Kardiotissa)

(Angelos) 71, 131, 164, 165, 189, 191
Virgin of the Don detail from two-sided
icon (Theophanes the Greek) 53
The Virgin with Christ and St Catherine
(Angelos) 114, 119, 124, 127, 148, 172,
173
Vision of the Apocalypse (miniature,
W.335) 62, 63
Volpi Nativity 78, 79, 91, 96

W
wall paintings 87, 96, 119, 122, 127–
128, 202
Constantinople, Chora monastery,
Tomb G, deceased woman before
enthroned Virgin and Child 51, 52
Meteora, monastery of St Nicholas
Anapafsas, *St Merkourios*
(Theophanes) 127, 128
Mount Athos, Stavronikita monastery,
Virgin 'Kyriotissa' (Theophanes) 127,
127
Mystras, monastery of the Pantanassa,
Entry into Jerusalem, 24
Patmos, monastery of St John the
Theologian
Massacre of the Innocents 122, 123
Nativity 122, 122
Parable of the Ten Wise Virgins
(detail) 119, 121
St Daniel the Stylite 119, 120
Western influences *see alla maniera
greca / alla maniera latina*
wills
of Angelos Akotantos 33, 104–110,
153, 156, 161
English translation 111–113
text of will 105, 106
of Demetrios Palaiologos 35–36
of Gregorios Maras 172

see also notarial documents
wine trade 41–42
Winged St John the Baptist in the Desert
(Angelos) 178, 179
working drawings *see* drawings

Picture Credits

- Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum:
fig. 10; cat. 24, 31, 32, 33, 39, 61, 62
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Classical Antiquities: cat. 7, 36
- Athens, 2nd Ephorate of Byzantine
Antiquities: cat. 19, 41, 42, 43, 63
- Athens, Benaki Museum: fig. 4, 5; cat. 37, 44,
53
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fig. 2
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21
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29, 30, 34, 46
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- Mount Athos, Stavronikita Monastery: fig.
30
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- Patmos, Monastery of the Annunciation: cat.
6, 59
- Patmos, Monastery of St John the
Theologian: fig. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; cat. 17,
26, 35, 52
- Recklinghausen, Ikonen-Museum: cat. 10
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Antiquities: cat. 3
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Antiquities: fig. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27; cat. 6,
17, 26, 35, 52, 59
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cat. 54
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cat. 40
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fig. 11
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Art: cat. 51
- Turin, Galleria Sabauda: cat. 50
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19
- Venice, Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and
Post-Byzantine Studies: cat. 14, 60
- Venice, Museo Correr: fig. 6; cat. 49
- Zakynthos, 20th Ephorate of Byzantine
Antiquities (Museum of Zakynthos): cat.
47

ΧΕΙΡ ΑΓΓΕΛΟ

It is hard to imagine a more distinguished group of contributors than the ones assembled here. The catalogue will stand apart from previous scholarship on this subject because it is focused specifically on Crete [and addresses] the kernel of the 'Cretan question': namely, how did the restless little socially mixed, commercially dynamic cities on the fringe of an island of peasant small-holders assume the artistic mantle of Constantinople and turn it into a Renaissance art-industry? This catalogue addresses that kernel through the person of Angelos. Angelos is the product of a generation's scholarly effort, and it is exciting to see the components of his painstaking construction laid out here – historical, artistic, economic, social.

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